

Wall, Charles William

An examination of the ancient orthography of the Jews, and of the original
state of the text of the Hebrew Bible

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AN INQUIRY
INTO
THE ORIGIN OF ALPHABETIC WRITING;
WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED
AN ESSAY ON THE EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHS.

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AN EXAMINATION
OF THE
ANCIENT
ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE JEWS,
AND OF
THE ORIGINAL STATE
OF
THE TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

PART THE FIRST,
CONTAINING
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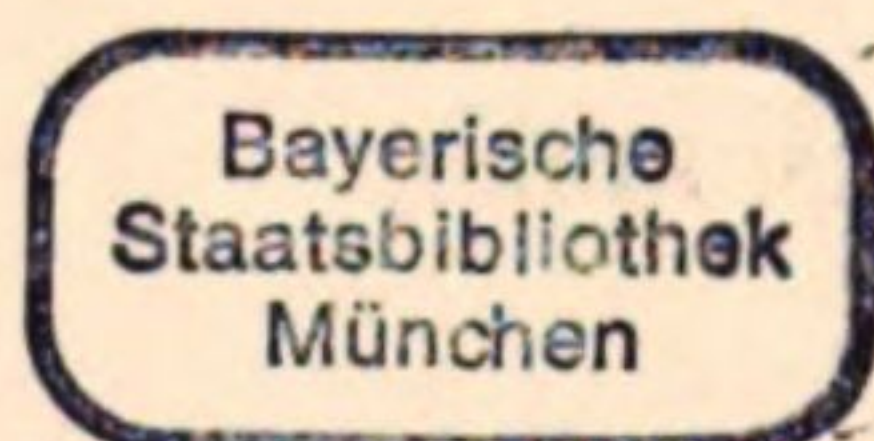
By CHARLES WILLIAM WALL, D. D.,
SENIOR FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
DUBLIN.

Πάταξον μὲν, ἄκουσον δέ.

LONDON :
WHITTAKER AND CO. ;
DUBLIN : MILLIKEN AND SON, BOOKSELLERS TO THE UNIVERSITY ;
AND HODGES AND SMITH.

M.DCCC.XXXV.

4. Exeg. 913 ^m/₁



Dublin: Printed at the University Press, by R. GRAISBERRY.

TO HIS GRACE

LORD JOHN GEORGE BERESFORD, D. D.,

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND,

AND

VICE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED,

WITH STRONG FEELINGS OF BOTH RESPECT AND REGARD,

BY HIS GRACE'S

FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING, in the course of writing this preliminary treatise, lit upon what I believe to be the true key to the deciphering of the Rosetta hieroglyphs, I have been induced to hope that the publication of so much of my work might excite some interest. The remainder shall come out as soon as weak sight and various occupations will permit me to have it ready for the press; and in it, I trust I shall be able to satisfy the learned, that most of the discrepancies between the Hebrew text of the Bible and the Greek version of it are only apparent; to account for such appearances having arisen; and to show how they can be removed.

TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN,
October 1, 1835.

CONTENTS OF PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

General and particular views of the subject of the present inquiry. — The nature and extent of the inquiry. — The objects of the inquiry. — The scope of the inquiry. — The limits of the inquiry. — The scope of the inquiry. — The limits of the inquiry.

CHAPTER II.

Of the different kinds of knowledge, and the different degrees of knowledge. — The nature and extent of knowledge. — The objects of knowledge. — The scope of knowledge. — The limits of knowledge.

CHAPTER III.

General remarks on the subject of the present inquiry. — The nature and extent of the inquiry. — The objects of the inquiry. — The scope of the inquiry. — The limits of the inquiry.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the different kinds of knowledge, and the different degrees of knowledge. — The nature and extent of knowledge. — The objects of knowledge. — The scope of knowledge. — The limits of knowledge.

CHAPTER V.

Of the different kinds of knowledge, and the different degrees of knowledge. — The nature and extent of knowledge. — The objects of knowledge. — The scope of knowledge. — The limits of knowledge.

CONTENTS OF PART I.

CHAPTER I.

	Page.
Origin and progress of the graphic art.—Alphabetic writing not invented by man—this proved <i>a priori</i> by arguments grounded on the general nature of the subject.—The opposite arguments considered and answered	3

CHAPTER II.

Of the different kinds of ancient Egyptian writing	42
--	----

CHAPTER III.

General argument against the discovery of alphabetic writing by man, corroborated by particular instances—especially by the Chinese case—by the Egyptian case.—Graphic system of the Egyptians to be more minutely examined, in order to repel the attack indirectly made through it on the historic truth of the Bible	88
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Hieroglyphic discovery of the late Dr. Thomas Young.—True nature of the phonetic powers with which the hieroglyphs were employed by the Egyptians —Limitations to the antiquity of their phonetic system, derived from comparing—1. the cartouches phonetically written—2. the catalogues of the ancient sovereigns of Egypt	130
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

No impossibility in the expression of names by means of ideographic signs.—M. Champollion's attempt to decipher the older cartouches affords no proof of an extreme antiquity of phonetic writing in Egypt.—The evidence of Manetho's canon is not at all corroborated by the Table of Abydos—conjecture as to the nature of that Table	192
---	-----

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VI.

Page.

Rosetta inscription—comparison of the French and English methods of attempting to decipher it—faults of each method.—Investigation of hieroglyphic forms of expression equivalent to those in language—called verbs, nouns, verbal nouns—or which change the active into the passive voice, or a verb into a participle	250
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Third limitation of the antiquity of the Egyptian phonetic system derived from the ideagraphic parts of the later nom-cartouches, particularly from those in the Rosetta inscription.—Fourth limitation, and determination of the reign in which this system commenced, deduced from the Table of Abydos.—Direct internal evidence of its Grecian origin	297
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

Direct Scriptural proof of the origin of alphabetic writing—objections to this proof stated and answered—corroboration of this proof through the internal evidence supplied by the orthography and style of expression employed in the Hebrew text.—The book of Job proved to have been originally written in hieroglyphs.—Brief consideration of some philological questions arising out of this subject	332
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PART THE FIRST.

ТАРИФЫ НА Ч

PART I.

CONTAINING

AN INQUIRY

INTO

THE ORIGIN OF ALPHABETIC WRITING;

WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED

AN ESSAY ON THE EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHS.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE GRAPHIC ART—ALPHABETIC WRITING NOT INVENTED BY MAN—THIS PROVED A PRIORI BY ARGUMENTS GROUNDED ON THE GENERAL NATURE OF THE SUBJECT—THE OPPOSITE ARGUMENTS CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED.

BEFORE entering upon this subject, I think it right to define some words recently introduced into the English language, and to explain the sense in which I shall employ them in the course of the following pages. Of written signs, then, those are called *ideagraphic*,^a which immediately express ideas; and those *phonetic*, which solely express articulate sounds, or the elements

^a This Greek derivative is by the French written “*ideographique*,” great latitude in modifying the terminations of foreign words being allowed in their language. But in English “idea” has been adopted without any corruption of the original term, and is too well established in general use to warrant its being now altered; I have in consequence ventured to remodel the compound in the form in which it appears in the text.

of such sounds. Characters of the former class may, through the intervention of the ideas to which they have an immediate reference, be employed ultimately to express the terms which, in the language of the reader, are associated with those ideas; and then, if the words thus arrived at should be for a time divested of their meaning, and used merely as syllables in the composition of other words, their signs would be, during that use of them, phonetic. In this transition from an ideagraphic to a phonetic use of a character, it may be made to denote either exactly the same word, considered as a mere sound, which it before ideagraphically expressed, or only an element, or modified element of that word; in the former of which cases I would say that it had a mixed, and in the latter, a pure phonetic power.

An example or two may perhaps make this distinction more easily understood. Suppose that in the ideagraphic system of the ancient Egyptian a circle denoted the idea of the sun, and that this idea was expressed in his language by the word *Re*; he would then read this character by pronouncing *Re*; while a Greek, acquainted with the system, would read the same character by the word *Helios*, and though understanding it in the same sense as the former reader, would thus attach to it quite a different ideagraphic power. Suppose again that a figure, somewhat resembling an open mouth, denoted an idea called by the Egyptian *Ro*, then he would read this second character constantly by the word *Ro*. If afterwards, by some means or other, he came to a knowledge of the use of phonetic signs, in consequence of which he was led to employ those two signs, among others, to express immediately certain ingredients in the composition of words; and if, while he made the former denote solely the very same articulate sound which it before ideagraphically expressed, he used the latter as an equivalent not only to the syllable *Ro*, but also to *any* simple syllable including *R*, or even to the letter *R* alone; there would evidently be a very marked difference between the two powers. Such, then, as are of the first description I call mixed phonetic powers, as retaining the exact sounds of their ideagraphic origin; while those of the se-

cond description are improvements on the first, and may, in comparison, be termed pure phonetic powers.

“Phonetic,” as appears from the definition, includes “alphabetic;” but still these words are very far from being synonymous. All collections of phonetic characters are not alphabets, but only such as consist of a limited number of terms; for the essential principle of alphabetic writing, and that which gives it a decided superiority over every other kind of graphic system, is its being confined to a comparatively small number of signs. Hence, when M. Champollion speaks, as he often does in the *Précis*, of his alphabet of Egyptian phonetic characters, he appears to use an old and well established term in a sense, which is very incorrect, and calculated to mislead, either as to the essential property of an alphabet, or as to the true nature of the phonetic writing of the ancient Egyptians. For he holds the amount of those characters to be very indefinite, so that several necessarily have the same powers, which he, on that account, calls homophones; and for one power he reckons as many as twenty-five of those homophones, which number should be still further increased, if the French were right as to the Egyptian writing being for the most part phonetic. The calling then the collection of signs phonetically employed by the Egyptians an alphabet, is evidently a gross misapplication of the term; and although it does not, as I hope to be able to show in the course of this work, contain near as many characters as is at present supposed, yet there are quite enough really included in it to make the Egyptian phonetic delineations fall far below the rank of alphabetic writing.

Diaphones, or characters having each of them different powers, necessarily bring with them homophones, and, in addition, their own peculiar mischief, that of confusion. But to the perfection of a phonetic system it is requisite that its elements should be distinct in signification, as well as limited in number. A considerable amount therefore of faulty characters of either class is incompatible with the nature of an alphabet; and even the smallest number of them interferes with its perfection.

Unfortunately, however, they are to be found to some extent in most alphabets, and there is perhaps no one at present entirely free from all of both kinds. In the Roman alphabet, for instance, C is a diaphone, and has in consequence led to a wrong pronunciation of ancient names in England, as well as in France and in other countries. Thus every Greek scholar knows that *Cyrus* and *Cæsar* should be read, not, as they now are, with the S, but with the K, power of C. Among the Germans, in reference to the second name, which has been adopted into their language as the imperial title, this fault has been avoided by substituting K for C in the beginning of the word. And it is very questionable whether this German example might not advantageously be followed on a more extended scale, by expunging either K or C from our alphabet, and confining the retained letter to a single power.

I now proceed to my subject, and shall commence with ideographic writing, as being that which was first in use among men.

The characters employed in this writing are of two kinds : 1. Images, or resemblances of external visible objects ; 2. Arbitrary marks. Each of these again may be subdivided into two kinds, according as the application of them is direct or metaphorical. However the subdivision of arbitrary marks is less noticed, because both applications of them are arbitrary, and the metaphor does not strike our imagination as strongly in the use of these, as it does when the signs of the first kind are employed. Hence the most usual distribution at present made of the characters used in the ideographic branch of the art, is into three kinds : 1. Images employed as signs of those things of which they are imitations ; 2. Images metaphorically transferred to being signs of other things ; 3. Arbitrary marks. And, *pari passu*, the writing admitted to have been invented by man may be distinguished into three sorts, according to the predominance in it of one or other of these three kinds of characters.

The origin of the invention, in its most general aspect, may, it is obvious, be traced to the natural desire of man to give a

permanence to the expression of his thoughts, so as to render them communicable to those separated from him by distance of time or place. But perhaps it may be worth while to deal with the subject more in detail, and to enter into a separate consideration of the different grades of this most curious and interesting contrivance.

As writing commenced with the representation of our ideas of things by their likenesses, or by mimetic characters, so the drawing of these constituted the most obvious and natural, as well as the first, step in the progress of the art. One of the earliest intellectual efforts of an ingenious child will be found to be an attempt to delineate the visible objects that have most forcibly arrested his attention. He does not indeed sketch the outlines of these with any ulterior end in view, but is merely led to the occupation by the pleasure he immediately derives from it. However this very pleasure shows the aptitude of the human faculties to such occupation, and the tendency of the mind to exert its energies in this way. Accordingly the use of mimetic writing spread widely over the earth; and specimens of it have been found in various parts of the new world, as well as of the old: in countries so situated that their inhabitants could not possibly have had any mutual intercourse, but must each separately and independently have arrived at the invention.^a Traces of this kind of writing have also been met with, where the circumstances were least favourable to making the acquisition, even among nations the most uncivilized, and in regions the most desolate; they were observed by Charlevoix among

^a The old Spanish historian, Joseph Acosta, informs us, that, when the Spaniards first appeared off the shores of the Mexican empire, the manner in which the inhabitants of the coast communicated information of this to Montezuma, was by sending to him pictures of what they saw; and that at the time such was the general method employed by the Mexicans for conveying intelligence. The passage in the original is as follows:—"Quando era caso de importancia, llevavan a los señores de Mexico pintado el negocio de que les querian informar; como lo hizieron, quando aparecieron los primeros navios de Españoles."—*Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi. cap. 10.

the savages of North America,^a and by Stahlenberg in the wilds of Siberia.^b

In these rude efforts to transmit intelligence or commemorate events, most of the characters are intended for representations of particular individual objects. However imperfect in the execution, still in the design they are portraits; and their groups constitute pictures drawn from the life. Hence it will contribute to a clearer conception of the subject, to distinguish mimetic characters into two kinds, according as they have a particular or general signification, and to give the former kind a distinct name; accordingly I shall denominate them *pictural*. It is a predominance of such characters which marks writing of the first grade; while the employment of the other kind in any proportion is compatible with a more improved state of the art. The distinction between the two kinds of characters, though neglected by modern writers, was not overlooked by old Clemens of Alexandria, for he referred them to quite different classes. Whether he was right or not in separating them so far asunder, it is evident from his doing so, that he considered the two kinds to be very distinct from each other; and it will be interesting to examine the precise view he took of their difference. He ranked then the first kind under characters directly, and the second under those metaphorically or tropically, applied. The pictural character, or particular mimetic, he looked upon as one directly and appropriately applied to denoting the object of which it is the immediate imitation, [ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ

^a “Quant aux caracteres, ils n'en avoient point: et ils y suppleoient par des especes d'hiéroglyphes.”—CHARLEVOIX, *Journal d'un Voyage dans Amerique Septentrionale*, 4to ed. vol. iii. p. 198.

^b Bishop Warburton, in his *Treatise on Hieroglyphs*, states that mimetic characters were found by Stahlenberg, graven upon rocks, “in the province of Permia, and near the river Jenesei,” that is, on the confines of Siberia, and also in the heart of the country: and he has given a drawing of the characters from that writer.—London ed. of 1811, vol. iv. p. 119. As I have not had access to the original work, I insert the fact in my text on the authority of the bishop.

μίμησιν]. The general mimetic, on the other hand, he regarded as belonging to that species of *tropic* which is formed by transferring a character from its primary appropriate signification of the object of which it is the immediate resemblance, to denoting any other object of the same *family* or class, [κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες]. But as the meaning which I attach to this remarkable passage of Clemens is quite different from any as yet given to it, it will be necessary to state the grounds on which my interpretation rests. This, however, will require a particular discussion, which I shall reserve for the next chapter.

The ideagraphic system of the Chinese has been now, and that of the Egyptians was formerly, such a length of time in use, that it can be hardly expected that any specimens of the primitive writing of either nation should be still extant; though, from the extreme durability of the materials employed in Egypt, it is possible that some of her earlier records may have survived the ravages of time.^a In America, however, at the

^a Among the Egyptian legends of which the originals or copies have been brought to Europe, there may be observed groups of images, whether mimetic or metaphoric, with writing of a different kind placed in vertical lines over their heads. Even some of the specimens given by M. Champollion in his *Précis*, appear to be of this nature, and it is likely that many such could be pointed out by any one who had access to the *Description de l'Egypte*. The apparent difference of the writing in these renders it probable, that the time of making the insculptures was also different; and the probability would approach almost to a certainty, if the records were even near so old as M. Champollion supposed. If that were really the case, the mimetic characters of the groups must have been originally pictural; and in process of time, when the art had improved, the other writing was superadded to supply the deficiencies of expression in the older style. What corroborates this view of the nature of the legends in question, is, that Clemens of Alexandria, in his very remarkable account of the hieroglyphic system of the Egyptians, mentions a *direct mimetic* kind of writing [ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν], i. e. a *pictural* kind. Now it is to be observed that it is not of pictural *characters* he there speaks, but of pictural *writing*, in which of course those characters must have predominated; and if specimens of such writing existed in his day, the most probable way of accounting for their disappearance would seem to be that above suggested.

time of its discovery by the Spaniards, all the writing was of the first grade, so that no species of it could have been of very ancient origin. That of the Mexicans was decidedly the best, though the Peruvians had made a greater progress in arbitrary signs. To register events they employed *Quipos*, or branches of trees with strings tied to them, which were variously coloured and knotted; and Acosta maintained, that by the different combinations of colours and knots they could express their thoughts as fully and accurately as we can by means of letters.^a But there is strong reason to think, as Robertson, in his History of America, has justly remarked, that the Spanish jesuit was mistaken in the estimate he had formed of the utility and perfection of those *Quipos*, and that they were little better than numerical scores, the knots indicating numbers; and the colours, the subjects to which the reckoning was applied.^b Besides the signs

^a “Son Quipos unos memoriales, o registros hechos de ramales, en que diversos ñudos, y diversas colores significan diversas cosas. Es increíble lo que en este modo alcançaron; porque quanto los libros pueden dezir de historias, y leyes, y ceremonias, y cuentas de negocios, todo esso suplen los Quipos tan puntualmente que admira.—Porque para diversos generos, como de guerra, de gobierno, de tributos, de ceremonias, de tierras, avia diversos Quipos o ramales; y en cada manojo destos, tantos ñudos, y ñudicos, y hilillos atados: unos colorados: otros verdes: otros azules: otros blancos: y finalmente tantas diferentias, que assi como nosotros de veynte quatro letras, guisando las in diferentes maneras, sacamus tanta infinidad de vocablos, assi estos de sus ñudos y colores sacavan innumerabiles significaciones de cosas.”—ACOSTA, lib. vi. cap. 8.

^b “The Quipos, or knots on cords of different colours, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to the obscure description of them by Acosta, which Garcilasso de la Vega has adopted with little variation and no improvement, the Quipos seem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But as by these knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind, could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient

under consideration not being drawn or insculpted upon any surface, the registers formed of them could not, except in a very loose sense of the word, be called *writing*. The pictural characters of the Peruvians were better entitled to that denomination, but they were very gross and imperfect.^a In such characters the Mexicans had greatly the superiority, and interspersed among these they employed other graphic figures of an arbitrary kind to represent objects of thought not perceptible to the sight.^b Still their writing could only be considered as an improved species of the first grade, for the prominent feature of it was picture-representation of events.^c

Where men have not advanced beyond this first stage of the art, they readily exchange it for alphabetic writing, when they

events and institutions.”—ROBERTSON’S *History of America*, vol. ii. book 7. The general purport of this extract is judicious ; but in the last sentence there is a mistake, into which it is astonishing that so clear-headed a man as Robertson should have fallen. For undoubtedly it is quite possible that a moral or abstract idea, an operation or quality of the mind, may be expressed, through convention, by any arbitrary mark whatever ; and in fact it is only by arbitrary marks that such ideas can be expressed ; for even when they are represented by images, the metaphorical application of these is arbitrary.

^a Suplian [los Indios del Piru] la falta de escritura y letras, parte con pinturas como los de Mexico (aunque las del Piru eran muy grosseras y toscas) ; parte, y lo mas, con Quipos.—ACOSTA, lib. vi. cap. 8.

^b Tenian [los Mexicanos] sus figuras, y *Hieroglyphicas*, con que pintavan las cosas en esta forma, que las cosas que tenian figuras, las ponian con sus proprias ymages ; y para las cosas que no avian ymagen propria, tenian otros caracteres significativos de aquello ; y con este modo figuravan quanto querian.—ACOSTA, lib. vi. cap. 7.

In difetto di lettere usarono gl’ingegnosi Mexicani figure, e *Geroglyphici*, per significar le cose corporee, che han figura ; e per lo rimanente, altri caratteri propri : e in tal modo segnavano, a prò della posterità, tutte le cose accadute.—GEMELLI, *Giro del Mondo*, parte sesta, lib. i. cap. 5.

^c A splendid collection of the Mexican Hieroglyphs has been published in London, 1830, in seven folio volumes. The name of Augustine Aglio is that selected for the title page ; which appears rather strange, if it be true that the materials were collected and the engravings executed under the direction and at the expense of Lord Viscount Kingsborough. It is said that the publication cost his Lordship near thirty thousand pounds ; and the

come within reach of that very superior method of communication ; what they have had no great difficulty in acquiring, they do not particularly prize, and it is at once given up for a better system. But the case is very different with respect to those nations which had proceeded through the different grades of ideagraphy to its final state, before they got an opportunity of making the exchange in question : the more cumbrous and difficult of acquirement their several systems have proved to be, with so much the greater obstinacy will they be found to have clung to them. In fact, it is a very general principle of our nature to value things, not so much by their intrinsic worth, as by the difficulty of acquirement, even when that difficulty is in itself a proof of imperfection. National pride and prejudice also enlist themselves in favour of an old established practice associated with the earliest recollections of a people, and render the mind averse to instituting a fair inquiry into the merits of a foreign system. But besides the common causes of undue bias which must have equally affected the Egyptians and Chinese, separate ones may also be assigned. That which peculiarly operated on the former people was superstition ; and how powerful an influence it exerted in the continuation of their unwieldy method, is evident from this consideration,—that they could not have been entirely ignorant of the great superiority of alphabetic writing : as a conquered people they must have become acquainted with much of its nature, and of the advantage of adopting it, at all events from the commencement of the Ptolemean Dynasty ; and yet five hundred years after this knowledge had been forced upon them, Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of the different species of Egyptian ideagraphy, intermixed indeed with a phonetic use of signs, as still practised in his day. The characters of their principal kind of writing they connected in some way with

credit of the undertaking is very generally given to him, not only here, but also on the continent. In Paris M. Klaproth, I perceive, dedicated his *Examen Critique* (of the hieroglyphic labours of the late M. Champollion) to this munificent patron of the arts.

religion, and called them *sacred*; in consequence of which they never gave up the use of them, or adopted a mode of writing purely alphabetical, till they changed their creed.^a It was on account of these characters having been originally confined to religious uses, and insculped in stone, that the Greeks distinguished them by a name implying both particulars, and called them *hieroglyphs*;^b but the word is now taken in a more general sense, and applied to ideographs of every kind, without reference to either the use made of them, the surface on which they are drawn, or the country they are found in.

Of the natural tendency of the mind to the first species of writing, some proofs have been already given; and an additional one is, I conceive, supplied by man's frequent recurrence to it after all necessity for the expedient had ceased:

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

Thus, at the present day, there are primers filled with prints or imperfect delineations of the transactions described in their texts; the imagination being thereby called in to the assistance of the judgment, to help the young and illiterate to understand writing of a more artificial construction. And in former times, when reading was a far more difficult operation than it now is, there was a still more general application of pictural characters to this purpose. In order, therefore, to judge of the antiquity of an Egyptian record by the appearance in it of such characters, there is a caution to be observed. Should they be found, in a large proportion, in the body of an insculpture, the hieroglyphs would be

^a Although Clemens includes the employment of hieroglyphs as letters in his account of the different kinds of Egyptian writing, yet he does not make mention of any kind purely alphabetic. The Egyptians, therefore, had no such writing till after his age, and the oldest they could have had was the Græco-Coptic. But all the remains of this writing which have come down to our times, were evidently the productions of Christians.

^b I have ventured to adopt the French mode of writing this Greek derivative in preference to the English one, as approaching nearer to the original term. The Spanish and Italian corruptions of the Greek word may be seen in one of the preceding notes.

of the very oldest kind; but when they occur, not in the text, but in accompanying tablets, that is, when they are introduced, not from necessity, but merely for illustration, they are then compatible with writing of a much more recent date. Accordingly, they appear in this way in great numbers of rolls of papyrus, which, though probably the very oldest MSS. now extant, were yet written at a time when Egyptian ideagraphy had arrived at the most advanced stage of its improvement.

It was by means of these pictural characters that proper names were first expressed by the Egyptians; that is, they endeavoured to suggest a name by a likeness of the individual to whom it belonged; and if he was the principal agent in the record, his figure was made larger than the other characters of the text. For instance, this superstitious people believed that a deity, whom they called Osiris, had the head of a hawk, and in consequence, a human figure with a hawk's head served with them to denote Osiris. In process of time, however, this god was so universally worshipped in Egypt, that a whole class of beings were supposed to have the like shape, and the character was thus changed from a pictural one to a general mimetic. It was then reduced to the same size with the others in the text, and a new method contrived for expressing the proper name. In fact there were three ideagraphic methods employed for this purpose by the Egyptians before the commencement of their phonetic system: 1. by a pictural character, some peculiarity being introduced which confined the likeness to the single being to whom the name belonged; 2. by some emblem of the personal character of the individual; 3. by a collection of such emblems. But the consideration of the two latter methods must be reserved for another part of this treatise. I shall only here observe, that the three methods were continued in use, through the force of habit and of national predilections, even after the Egyptians had learned from their observation of a foreign practice the very superior mode of immediate designation by means of phonetic signs. They still applied the first two methods to the denomination of their gods, and the third to that of men;

but this last way, before it finally went out of use, ceased to be connected with the proper name of the individual, and gave only a kind of supplemental name or surname, which M. Champollion called a *prenom*. After its nature and use had been thus changed, it ought to have been referred to the head of the Latin *cognomen* or *agnomen*, rather than to that of the *prænomen*; but in another point of view the choice of the French word is very appropriate, if it be taken to mean the name according to the *previous* or older method of expressing it; and in this sense, though quite at variance with the theory of M. Champollion, I shall venture to adopt the term.

The second kind of writing commenced when the images of visible things were transferred from representing them, to denoting other objects of thought, on account of some analogies, real or imaginary, between their original archetypes, and the new significations attached to them. It was chiefly by the Egyptians that this species of ideagraphy was cultivated, and certainly their hieroglyphs afford by far the most remarkable as well as the most interesting specimen of characters thus employed. The metaphoric or figurative use of graphic images arose, I apprehend, partly from the impossibility of representing every idea by an immediate likeness, and partly from the natural inclination of the human mind to compare different things for the purpose of finding out points of similitude, and its consequent tendency to supply indirect resemblances where direct ones were not to be had. But the comparing faculty is so interwoven in our nature, that it shows itself in the metaphoric representation of our ideas not only by images, but also by arbitrary signs, and by these latter again not only when they are of a graphic, but also when of a verbal nature.^a The choice of figurative imagery is now indeed more noticed in the expression of whole trains of thought, but it was first applied to separate

^a The last of these indications of the faculty in question is alluded to by Locke, in his remark, that words are borrowed from sensation to express the ideas of reflection.

thoughts ; and, were I asked that question of the English poet, *where was fancy bred?* I should say, she was cradled in the very faculty now under consideration, and that her infantine exertions were displayed in framing metaphoric signs of single ideas, although she subsequently rose on the wings of genius to far higher occupation.

In hieroglyphs the capriciousness of the writing would be entirely removed as to the combinations it displays, and confined to the original selection of the separate characters, if the opinion were right which has been adopted by the French, and is now very generally received, that those characters were nearly all of them phonetically used. But although it was discovered by the late Dr. Thomas Young, that such an application of them was actually made to the expression of foreign names, and the discovery was afterwards completely verified by M. Champollion, as far as respects the Greek sovereigns of Egypt and the earlier Roman emperors ; yet it is certain that this was not the original use of the characters,^a and it is extremely improbable that it ever, even to the last, became the general one. Surely if most of the hieroglyphic writing, or even any considerable portion of it, were phonetic, the circumstance would be quite unaccountable, that among the various groups of which explanations have been transmitted to us by ancient authors, there actually is not a single one of this description. But indeed the direct argument which may be drawn from an examination of the writing itself,

^a Not only may their first use be obviously inferred from the very nature of the case itself, as already explained, but it is also certified to us by the express testimony of ancient authors. Thus Tacitus writes : “ Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant, ea antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur.”—*Annalium*, lib. xi. cap. 14. I do not know by what words he could have more expressly asserted that the early writing of the Egyptians was ideagraphic ; and it is to be observed, that he here speaks, not simply of their oldest hieroglyphic records, but of such very old ones as were still to be seen in his time ; and, no doubt, some of these are among the very specimens now extant, the writing of which is, according to the prevailing theory of the day, assumed to be phonetic.

bears, if possible, still more strongly upon the point : however, it would be digressing from my subject now to enter into the discussion, and I shall here only observe, that where the aggregate meaning of a group of images is known, its ideagraphic development will be often found to exhibit a style of expression strikingly accordant with those used for conveying the same thought in language. Thus, on the Rosetta Stone,^a the compound hieroglyph (see Plate I. fig. 1.) frequently follows the name of Ptolemy, and it then always corresponds in place with

^a This highly interesting remnant of Egyptian calligraphy was, by mere accident, discovered a little before the close of the last century by some French soldiers, in digging for the foundation of a fort, which they were going to erect near Rosetta : and when victory transferred it from French to English hands, it was brought to London, and is now deposited in the British Museum. The subject of the record is a decree, made in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in the ninth year of his reign, that is, in the year B. C. 196 ; and this is exhibited in three distinct kinds of writing. The uppermost part of the inscription consists of hieroglyphs ; the intermediate one, of characters never before observed ; and the lowest is Greek ; the last line of which states that the pillar contained one and the same decree, in Sacred, in Enchorial, (or such as were in common use in the country,) and in Greek characters : τοῖς τε ἱεροῖς, καὶ ἐγχωρίοις, καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν. What gives this document its great value is, that it contains an authentic specimen of hieroglyphs, expressly accompanied by an alphabetic text exhibiting their meaning ; and it is hence very justly called by M. Klaproth, the true touchstone of Egyptian investigations : “ la véritable pierre de touche pour cet objet.” The hopes, however, at first excited, that it would lead to the complete deciphering of the Sacred characters, have not yet been realized. The stone is in a very mutilated state, particularly the part containing the hieroglyphs, of which several lines are lost, the lower ones alone remaining, and none of these complete. Besides there is a want of exact correspondence between them and the Greek ; as is evident on bare inspection, from repetitions in the former writing which have none answering to them in the latter. But the great obstruction to the success of the investigation will, as I apprehend, be found in the wrong hypothesis upon which it has been conducted. Hence, although the French have pursued the inquiry with great ardour and ingenuity, ever since the very remarkable paper of Dr. Young was published in the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that came out in the year 1819, yet they scarcely appear to have advanced beyond the point which he had then reached.

the title of EPIPHANES in the Greek part of the inscription ; consequently, its signification upon the whole must be very nearly that of “Glorious.” The uppermost figure then must denote something appertaining to glory, though, as we are ignorant of the nature and use of the instrument of which it is the immediate image, the propriety of the metaphor by which it is transferred to this signification cannot now be ascertained. The middle figure is an image of the mouth ; which presents the natural means for the diffusion of fame, and accordingly there is frequent allusion to this employment of it in language.

Ille quidem ad superos—

Succedet famâ, vivusque per ora feretur.

The lowest figure (a pair of legs placed upright) affords a representation of “standing under,” and, consequently, of “being covered,” by an object. The grouping of the characters here certainly presents a very grotesque appearance ; but on consideration it must, I think, be admitted, that the lower combination is still more whimsically made in English, where *under* and *standing* are brought together to denote a mental operation, by some allusion that must be very far-fetched indeed. In German the same combination occurs, with a meaning closely corresponding with the Egyptian one ; for *unterstehen*, with the accent on the first part of the compound, denotes the being “sheltered.” Now, if the force of the entire group be considered, it will be found that the words most usually employed in the same signification are just as figurative. Thus, the Hebrew term *khorim*^a means *burning*, thence *shining*, thence *glorious* ; the Greek, *epiphanes*, that which is *above* the sur-

^a חורים has the form of a plural noun, but it is made applicable to one person by prefixing to it בן, and is thus used in Eccl. x. 17. where it is rendered in our version “son of nobles.” In the Shemitic languages there is scarcely any composition ; therefore, in reference to them the correspondence described in the text applies only to the use of metaphor, but in the other languages it extends to that of composition also.

rounding objects, so that it *can be seen* on every side; the Latin, *illustris*, that on which the *light shines*; and the corresponding English epithets of *splendid*, *conspicuous*, *illustrious*, involve in their original formation fully as much of metaphor. The expression “glory-covered,” is itself to be met in language, and, as it is expanded by the Royal Psalmist in that passage, “Thou deckest thyself with light, as it were with a garment,” every one must be struck with its beauty and its force.

The metaphorical use of images must have very soon followed the direct one, for we find traces of the same employment of an older class of signs among nations before their acquaintance with even the first kind of writing. Of this a remarkable instance is recorded by Herodotus, in the significant intimation of the Scythian Prince to Darius invading his territories, which was conveyed under the symbols of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The present, though unaccompanied by any explanation, was rightly understood by the Persians, and interpreted by them to signify that, “unless they could ascend into the air like birds; or conceal themselves in the earth like mice; or plunge into the fens like frogs; they should inevitably perish by the arrows of the Scythians.”^a

^a “Ἦν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτῆσθε εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὧ Πέρσαι, ἢ μῦες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἢ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι εἰς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω, ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι.” Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὰ δῶρα ἔικαζον.—HEROD. lib. iv. cap. 132.

The threatening message which was thus interpreted, was not sent to Darius, till after he had been induced, by the Scythians appearing to fly before him, to penetrate so far into their country and to stay there so long, that all his resources were completely exhausted; for the Scythians in their retreat destroyed every thing that could be made use of, and even went so far as to fill up all the wells and springs in their way. Thus, in the late eventful war, the crafty veteran Koutousoff, by holding out fallacious hopes of his sovereign's accepting the proffered terms of peace, inveigled Bonaparte into remaining at Moscow, entirely beyond the time that prudence would have warranted. Indeed the campaign of Darius, as described by Herodotus,

Now, from the one party sending, and the other understanding, a message so expressed, it is probable that both were acquainted with this mode of communication; or if the Persians were not, their yet making out its meaning shows, that it was suited to the natural apprehension of man. Accordingly, we are informed by Clemens of Alexandria, that this method of conveying information was practised by several ancient nations; and he considered it so closely connected with the figurative species of writing, as to rank both under the same denomination.^a In identifying this sort of symbolization with writing he was not perhaps quite accurate: however, the deviation from correctness was not very material; for though the signs here employed were things, instead of graphic images of things, this made no alteration in the metaphorical nature of their application; and out of such application of the one set of signs a like use of the others would obviously arise very soon after their introduction.

As men must have always done in the former of these two modes of communication, so they commenced in the latter one with expressing only their leading thoughts, leaving it to the

tallies surprisingly in a number of particulars with that of the French in Russia. The ancient Cossacks adopted the same general mode of defence as the modern ones; they also outwitted their southern invaders, notwithstanding their superior military skill, very nearly in the same manner, and nearly with the same result.

^a Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον Ἀιγυπτίων οἱ λογικώτατοι, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθησαν, τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐζήλωσαν.—CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 414. ed. Heinsii. By the way this passage shows that the authority of Clemens may be added to that of Tacitus in proof of the symbolic nature of the Egyptian writing. The supporters of the theory now in vogue endeavour to account for the ancients not having transmitted to us a single phonetic legend, by the remark, that alphabetic writers would be more struck with ideagraphic ones, and, therefore, more likely to record such. This explanation very imperfectly accounts for their *total* omission of phonetic examples, and it does not at all account for their giving the writing the general character of being symbolic or ideagraphic, if the greater part of it really was, as is now supposed, of quite a different nature.

judgment and ingenuity of the reader to make out the connexion and modification of those thoughts. But the imperfection of such writing would be obvious, though its improvement probably would be slow, and the result of experience would be gradually and at intervals to suggest the necessity of introducing additional subsidiary signs. When, therefore, there is found a considerable difference between records in this respect, a long series of years may be inferred to have intervened between their dates. This criterion serves to point out the great antiquity of some of the inscriptions appropriated by the Egyptians to the designation of names, but it can hardly be so applied to any of their other legends now extant, unless perhaps to a few which seem distinguishable into groups of the primitive kind, and supplemental writing subsequently placed over the heads of the figures. However, it certainly leads to such result in its application to descriptions of legends transmitted to us by ancient authors. In the next chapter I shall have occasion to refer to one given by Clemens, which he selected as a specimen of the enigmatic species of symbolic writing; but he classed it under that head only on account of an obscurity in the meaning of some of the separate characters of the group, and not at all for its want of subsidiary signs: the latter circumstance appears to have escaped his observation, for he makes no remark on it. This legend must have been of great antiquity, for, like the Scythian message, it is quite bare, and does not contain even a single connecting or modifying symbol.

But length of practice would suggest, not only an increase in the number of signs, but also a simplification of their shapes; which would be attended with the double convenience of saving the time of the writer, and reducing the space which his writing would occupy.^a When graphic images were transferred

^a Besides these two advantages, the characters of the third kind have this further one, that our ideas of reflection can be expressed by them directly as well as indirectly; while they can be denoted only indirectly by the second class of signs, and not at all by those of the first class.

from being signs of what they immediately resembled to denoting other things, the change of their application was in some measure arbitrary; and fancy, as has been already observed, took a share in the process. As analogies may be perceived or imagined between any one object of thought and a vast variety of others; so the inventor of a sign could choose on which of them he would found the metaphor that was to lead to the expression of his thought. But when, not only the application, but also the shape, of the symbols came to be changed, this improvement led to the introduction of characters that were entirely arbitrary. For when once the process of simplification began, the only limitation to it was, that the shape should not be made so simple as to preclude the variety necessary for supplying a sufficient number of distinct signs;^a besides after characters that originally resembled visible objects, had been thus changed in their shape, others would be formed on their model that would from the very outset be unrestricted in their outlines by reference to the figure of any object in existence. Arbitrary characters of both descriptions constitute the prominent materials of the third grade of writing, to which, in the progress of improvement, man has been able, by the exercise of his natural powers, to advance; though some of them, in a lesser proportion, may also be found in each of the other two grades.

Very few arbitrary signs of the first description, and probably none of the second, are to be seen in the hieroglyphic legends of the Egyptians. The superstition which induced them to retain the *Sacred* characters so long in use, may have likewise exerted its influence in preventing any considerable alteration of their shape. Their unchangeableness in this respect may also in part be accounted for by the pompous nature

^a This simplification holds only with respect to the separate single signs, because if the practice should arise of blending these again into compound ones, the process would take an opposite direction in reference to the latter class; and the combinations might become continually more complex by the increasing number of their simplified ingredients.

of one of the uses to which they were applied, which was to celebrate the praises of their kings; and certainly for records intended for display and parade no characters could be more suited, or admit of a higher degree of ornament than these hieroglyphs in their original form. Thus, among ourselves, the old English letters are still retained for ornamental writing, though for every other use so inferior to the Roman characters. The Egyptians, however, as we are informed by Clemens Alexandrinus,—and his information is both explained and confirmed by recent discoveries,—employed two other kinds of ideagraphic writing, in which the characters were of a more arbitrary nature, the *Hieratic* or sacerdotal, which was a running hand imitation on papyrus of the hieroglyphs,^a and the *Enchorial* or common writing of the country, which was a still more loose imitation of the Hieratic. Indeed these last characters are so very arbitrary that they look more like letters than figures that had been originally, though not immediately, derived from graphic images of objects in real existence; and the Egyptians in their formation proceeded in the arbitrary simplification of shape beyond the bounds that were compatible with distinctness. For as they frequently in this writing denoted, by a single dash or line, ideas that were in the hieroglyphs represented by distinct images; the consequence was, that the same line corresponded to different hieroglyphic characters, and it thence became necessary to add to the Enchorial marks some supplementary ones, to prevent their meaning being misunderstood.

But the most remarkable writing of the third grade is that of the Chinese, among whom the ideagraphic system has been longer in operation than in any other part of the world; and in

^a The characters of this class may be seen in MSS. with different degrees of resemblance to their originals; some so very nearly the same that they have been denominated by M. Champollion *lineal hieroglyphs*. Both Hieratic and Enchorial MSS. have been found in great numbers, since the discovery of the Rosetta stone drew attention to the subject.

consequence the characters now employed by them are all completely arbitrary, and belong to the second class of signs of that description. There are, however, abundant traces remaining of the Chinese having formerly employed both of the older kinds of ideagraphic writing. Kircher, in his *China Illustrata*, gives several specimens of images metaphorically used by them; as also, an outline of the rules by which they were directed in their conformation; from which it appears, that, in their choice of metaphors, they gave far less scope to the imagination than the Egyptians did.^a But if Kircher meant, as his words seem to imply, that they began their writing with characters of the figurative or metaphoric class, he was evidently mistaken in this; as indeed might be shown even from the very nature of the case itself: for if images of external objects were at all adopted as graphic signs, they must have been first used to signify immediately what they resembled, before they could be transferred to denoting other things. Accordingly, that the Chinese commenced with graphic images so applied, as indeed all nations must have done who made use of writing of their own invention, is attested to us by several authors, of whom I particularly refer to Du Halde, because he gives the fullest account of China, and one founded on information collected by a large number of missionaries who were the latest in the country, up to the time when all foreigners were excluded from its interior.^b

^a Diximus in præcedentibus, Sinas *primævos* characteres suos ex omnibus rebus, quæ visui objiciuntur, assumpsisse; atque ex vario tantùm harum rerum congestarum ordine et dispositione mentis suæ conceptus manifestâsse. Hinc igneæ naturæ argumentum tractaturi, serpentibus, aspidibus, et draconibus utebantur, qui tali aut tali ordine et dispositione digesti, tale et tale quid significabant. In aëreis rebus describendis, volucrum variâ dispositione; in aqueo argumento, piscibus; in vegetabili naturâ describendâ, floribus, foliis, ramis; in sideribus, punctis seu circulis, quorum singuli singulas stellas exprimebant, utebantur; in reliquis indifferentibus argumentis, ligna, globos, fila certâ lege disposita adhibebant.—KIRCHERI *China Illustrata*, pars vi. cap. 2.

^b Des le commencement de leur Monarchie ils communiquoient leurs

The Chinese differ greatly from the ancient Egyptians in the composite nature of their characters ; for they unite several ingredients in the formation of a complex sign ; and they, in some instances, go so far in this complication, as to make one symbol denote a train of thoughts, and correspond in meaning with an entire sentence.^a The Egyptians, on the contrary, kept their signs of the more simple ideas quite distinct, even when they combined them in the expression of a complex thought ; for they did so merely by placing them in juxta-position, without altering their shape or in any way blending them together ; so that they employed several images to denote one compound thought, instead of one arbitrary mark to signify a number of thoughts. Their writing consequently took up more space than that of the Chinese, but it was far less burdensome to the memory of the learner, as the aggregate of requisite signs must have been considerably smaller on their plan. The distinct

idées, en formant sur la papier les images naturelles des choses qu'ils vou-
loient exprimer ; ils peignoient, par exemple, un oiseau, des montagnes, des
arbres, des lignes ondoyantes, pour exprimer des oiseaux, des montagnes, un
forêt, et des rivières. Cette manière d'expliquer sa pensée étoit fort impar-
faite, et demandoit plusieurs volumes pour exprimer assez peu des choses.
D'ailleurs il y avoit une infinité d'objets, qui ne pouvoient être representez
par la peinture, tels que sont l'ame, les sentimens, les passions, la beauté,
les vertus, les vices, les actions des hommes et des animeaux, et tant d'autres,
qui n'ont ni corps ni figures. C'est pourquoi insensiblement ils changerent
leur ancienne manière d'écrire : ils composerent des figures plus simples, et
en inventerent plusieurs autres, pour exprimer les objets qui ne tombent
point sous les sens.—DU HALDE, tom. ii. p. 227.

As Kircher had overlooked the first kind of writing employed by the Chinese, so Du Halde, in this extract, appears strangely to have lost sight of the second. For he here represents them as proceeding immediately from pictural characters to the change of their shape, without first interposing the change of their application.

^a Il y a d'ailleurs des caracteres qui signifient deux ou trois paroles, et quelquefois des périodes entières ; par exemple, pour écrire ces paroles : *bon jour Monsieur* ; au lieu de joindre le caractere qui signifie, *bon*, et celui qui signifie *jour*, avec celui qui signifie *Monsieur* : on doit se servir d'un caractere different, qui seul exprime ces trois paroles : et c'est ce qui multiplie si fort les caracteres Chinois.—DU HALDE, tom. ii. p. 226.

singleness of the Egyptian signs gives to a metaphysician the better chance of analyzing their separate significations, supposing him to know the collective meaning of an entire group : at the same time it deprives him of the means of determining by their number, whether they are ideagraphically or phonetically used ; since in this system there may be as many signs wanted on the former supposition as on the latter. Hence in the hieroglyphic records which, from the names they contain, are known to exhibit the latest specimens of the art, where probably the characters were promiscuously employed in both ways, it is extremely difficult to distinguish one use of them from the other. But if any group should be identical with one occurring in the older legends, its ideagraphic nature may be thence fairly inferred.

Though the Chinese are less imaginative than the Egyptians were, yet their characters are not devoid of metaphoric signification, even since the time that they became entirely arbitrary. In these, as was before observed with respect to the ancient hieroglyphs, the choice of metaphor has a striking correspondence with that displayed in the formation of words : so that the same general taste for figurative representations is found under every variety of circumstance, in ages and countries the most widely separated ; and marks by its universality that it is deep-rooted in the nature of man. Thus, the word *calamity*, which, with a little variety of termination, pervades so many European languages, denotes, in the structure of its Latin origin, *the failure of a crop of corn*. But the graphic mark which, in Du Halde's time, was employed by the Chinese to express the same thought, signifies, in the composition of its parts, *a house on fire*. The metaphor, by which the mind is made to pass from a particular species of misfortune to the general idea, is, in both instances, precisely the same, only the application of it is more forcible in the Chinese selection of a case, than in the European one. The correspondence here cannot be in part accounted for by supposing, that the Chinese, like the European, first made the combination in words, and

thence transferred it to his writing; for, in fact, he did not make it in words at all; his name for misfortune being *tsai*, which cannot by any mode of composition be formed out of *mien* and *ho*, the terms by which he expresses *house* and *fire*. This example by the way shows that men do not always think to themselves in words, and that Locke's remark on the subject ought to be restricted within certain limits. For it is evident that the Chinese can think in his characters apart from words; and we also sometimes do this in our use of marks of a like nature. Thus, for instance, I can form no clear idea of the *number* of this present year without reference to some signs or other; but I can conceive it just as well by turning my thoughts to the ideographic group 1835, as by thinking of the words eighteen hundred and thirty-five. The same Chinese example also shows that the modern division of ideographic signs is not a complete one; for here is a character that does not exclusively belong to any of its three classes, but is both arbitrary and metaphoric at the same time. In the next chapter it will be seen, that the ancient division of Clemens, according to my interpretation of his words, is far more accurate; which indeed is no proof that I have rightly hit off his meaning, but it renders the mind more ready to acquiesce in one derived from other considerations.

I shall here conclude, with one remark, what I have to state on the progress of writing, as far as it is by all admitted to have been advanced by the mere natural powers of man. It has been shown that every where this writing set out from the same commencement; from the representation of objects and events by pictures. Even the Peruvians, in common with other nations, began with such signs, although they were more remarkable for their *Quipos*, as already described: they appear to have proceeded very early from their first efforts in the art to a method of denotation, which cannot in strictness be called writing of the third kind, but which was analogous to such writing, and would naturally have led to it, if they had persevered in the use of their own graphic system. Now, however the process may

have been in other respects varied, by difference of tastes and habits among different nations, there is one circumstance which has constantly and uniformly characterized it; namely, that in every instance it has *tended* to the class of arbitrary signs; so that wherever sufficient time has been given for the due operation of causes affecting our common nature, and accidental or local impediments have not been interposed, it has actually *reached* that class. Hence, although the principal kinds of writing invented by man, the *Mexican*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Chinese*, are distinguished from each other by the predominance in them respectively, of *pictural*, of *metaphorical*, and of *arbitrary* characters; yet, in all of them, some portion of the arbitrary class may be observed; and in the Chinese writing, which has been longer in use than any of the rest, these characters have so increased as to have excluded both the other classes.

Bishop Warburton, in the fourth book of his work on the Divine Legation of Moses, asserted that these arbitrary characters naturally conducted the mind to letters, the invention of which constituted the final step in the gradual improvement of writing; and that from the ideagraphic species of it, the alphabetic one was thus derived. In a section (the 4th of book iv.) in which he has dwelt very fully on other points connected with the general subject, he appears to have thought this one so obvious as scarcely to require proof; at all events he brought forward very little that deserved the name. Yet the reputation of his great learning and powerful talents has given such support to the assertion, that it appears ever since to have received a very general assent, and to pass current among most people without examination. Probably the subject matter of this section has not been as closely sifted as the rest of his writings, from an opinion, that the determination of the point therein argued was not of much consequence. However, the connexion which it will be found to have with the nature of the primitive writing of the Jews, gives it an importance which induces me to enter into a stricter investigation of the question. This is now become the more necessary, because the recent discovery of the phonetic

use of hieroglyphic characters by the Egyptians, as well as by the Chinese, appears at first view to give countenance to the Bishop's position; so that even the ingenious Doctor Young suffered himself to be deceived by it, and took it for granted that it was correct. In his observations on the name of Ptolemy, phonetically expressed in the Rosetta inscription, (it was in the instance of this name that he made his remarkable discovery of such employment of hieroglyphs,) he thus expresses himself: "In this and a few other proper names, it is extremely interesting to trace some of the steps, by which alphabetical writing seems to have arisen out of hieroglyphical; a process which may indeed be in some measure illustrated by the manner in which the modern Chinese express a foreign combination of sounds, the characters being rendered simply 'phonetic' by an appropriate mark, instead of retaining their natural signification; and this mark, in some modern printed books, approaching very near to the ring surrounding the hieroglyphic names."—*Enc. Brit. Supp. Article Egypt*, p. 62.

I shall commence with discussing the principle, on grounds of general reasoning. Now, that the formation of one set of arbitrary characters might lead to that of another set; or that the *shape* of letters might be formed on the model of arbitrary hieroglyphic marks, *after the use of letters had been learned from some other source*; and still further, that from associating the hieroglyph with the idea it was employed to represent, the mind might be led to associate it with the articulate sound which was the name of that idea in the language of the reader; all this is very possible. But that the *use* of a character, as the sign of an idea, should lead the way to its *use*, as the sign of something totally unconnected with that idea, viz. of an element of articulate sound, having by itself neither meaning nor sound,^a is a

^a The grammarians have divided consonants into semivowels and mutes, thereby making a distinction where there is no real difference; for all of them are mute, in the sense of being incapable of being sounded without the accompaniment of a perfect or imperfect vowel. There are two of them in-

supposition which cannot be rationally sustained. Let us, however, take the case most favourable to the hypothesis of the transition from an ideagraphic to an alphabetic use of characters being effected by an intrinsic cause, through a natural tendency in the one use to conduct to the other; and let us suppose the name of an idea to be itself an elementary articulate sound; also a rude alphabet to be constructed of letters with syllabic powers, each of which denoted such a sound; yet even so the assumed tendency cannot be made out; or rather, it can be disproved by showing that the assumption involves a contradiction. The mind of the reader will now indeed advance one step in the process, and pass from the idea to the elementary sound which is to become the power of one of the letters just described; but the very same principle of association which has occasioned this step to be taken, will put a stop to the still further one which the Bishop's theory requires, and prevent the reader from divesting that sound of its customary meaning. Thus, to give a familiar example, 2 is an ideagraphic character denoting immediately a particular number, and through that suggesting to an Englishman the word *two*. But it is possible that men might agree in using it immediately as the sign of the same sound, without any meaning attached to it; in which case it would become a letter of syllabic power, and might be substituted for the syllable *to* in writing any word of which that syllable was an ingredient. Both uses of the character are possible, but the former one never could lead to the latter; for in the numeric employment of it, the mind is conducted to the sound only through the sense, and therefore could not be thus brought to use it without sense. Indeed the ideagraphic use of signs, instead of leading towards the phonetic one, has ac-

deed, *w* and *y*, which have the nature of vowels as well as of consonants, though they have not been included in the list of those on whose account the distinction was made; but even they, when employed as consonants, are, in common with all the rest, mutes, and cannot then be sounded without the assistance of some vowel.

tually the very opposite tendency, and draws off the mind from the practice adopted in alphabetic reading of using the elementary sounds without any signification, and combining these to form significant words. Wherever then is found a phonetic employment of ideagraphic characters, the phenomenon must have arisen from some source totally independent of, and foreign to, the intrinsic nature of hieroglyphic writing.

So far, I apprehend, the case has been sufficiently argued to disprove the invention of any alphabet through the medium of hieroglyphs; for here we are stopped in the very first step of the process, namely, in that which should be made from ideagraphic to phonetic signs. Now, as it is never attempted to show that letters were invented except through this medium, the argument might perhaps be considered decisive against their ever having been in any way discovered by man. However to meet the general question more directly, and point out the extreme improbability of their having been at all derived from human invention through any medium whatever, it may be still further urged, that even supposing man had by his own efforts arrived in some unaccountable manner at a phonetic use of signs, he would yet be immeasurably distant from an alphabetic one. The possibility of the two steps which he would yet have to take in order to get to letters is almost as inconceivable as of that first one, to which, it has been already proved, he never could have been conducted by the nature of the case. In the first place let us inquire what motive he could have for decomposing all the words, or at least, all the ordinary words of his language, without doing which he never could discover the alphabetic principle: and in order to view the operation, as performed, in the easiest manner, I shall only consider him as proceeding in it till his arrival at simple articulate sounds, and put out of sight the still more difficult step by which those sounds would have again to be resolved into their sonant and consonant elements. Now if he knew beforehand that by making this decomposition, he could reduce all the elementary sounds of his language to a limited number, requiring, conse-

quently, for their expression only a limited number of signs; he would have a very strong inducement to the process, because he would thereby, in the recombination of his words, be able to represent them all in a manner that would save him an infinity of trouble. But if he was not previously aware of this, his decomposing words, merely to compound them again, would only be a waste of his time and labour. Here then lies an impediment in the way of his having ever set about constructing an alphabet of even the rudest and most imperfect nature: he never could discover the alphabetic principle till he had first made the above-mentioned decomposition, and he could have no possible motive for making this, till he had first known the alphabetic principle.

If it be said, that it has been already supposed that he has got signs of some of those articulate sounds, and that he might possibly be induced, from analogy, to search for the rest in order to give them also signs; in this way of stating the case, there is a tacit assumption of his being aware that the rest constitutes a limited number; that is, it is tacitly assumed that he already knows the alphabetic principle, though his first approach to the discovery of this principle is the very thing which it is wanted to account for. However, putting the impediment for a moment out of view, and supposing our investigator has gone through the very laborious process of decomposition, let us, in the next place, consider what yet remains behind to be effected by him. Before he can discover the limitation in question, and determine the sounds whose signs are to constitute his alphabet, he must classify and arrange all the decompositions made by him. And to effect this, he can derive no help from the phonetic signs already conceded to him; because, be it recollected, he is not yet supposed to know the alphabetic principle, and consequently he will have affixed those signs without any method, giving the same sign to different sounds, and different signs to the same sound. He must therefore go through the process of classification entirely in his own mind, without any aid from external marks, and thus at length discover that the

number of classes is limited. Now that the human mind, with the strongest powers in the highest state of cultivation, should take in so extensive a subject at one view, is hardly conceivable; but that any man should have been equal to this in the very early times to which the use of alphabetic writing can be traced back, is quite beyond the reach of credibility.

In another place I shall take an opportunity of showing that this abstract reasoning is confirmed by actual observation, and that a variety of corroborating circumstances can be adduced from the different systems of ideagraphy which have to any extent prevailed in the world, particularly from those into which a phonetic use of characters appears to have been introduced. I now proceed to consider the arguments brought forward on the opposite side of the question.

The only authority produced by Dr. Warburton in support of his theory is contained in the passage of Tacitus (to the commencement of which I have already referred) wherein he describes the ideagraphic nature of the writing used by the Egyptians, and then proceeds to mention the discovery of letters by that people.^a But while he vouches for the first point, he virtually refuses to do so for the second, by altering his style of expressing himself, and giving, not his own testimony for it, but that of the Egyptians themselves; from which it may be fairly inferred, that although he records their claim to the discovery, yet he considered it only as a vain boast. The authority, therefore, of Tacitus is so far from being in favour of the bishop's view of the question at issue, that it is rather against it.^b

^a Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant (ea antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur); et litterarum semet inventores perhibent.—TACITI *An.* lib. xi. cap. 14.

^b This branch of the argument has been since taken up, in support of Dr. Warburton's opinion, by Zoëga, who collected out of the classic authors several passages relating to the subject. But these might be disposed of, some of them, like the extract from Tacitus, by showing that they had not at all the bearing attributed to them; and the rest, by adducing passages of an

The ground on which he rests his reasoning is the *facility* of the transition from arbitrary signs of ideas to arbitrary signs of sounds. The weakness of this ground has, I hope, been sufficiently shown: it certainly is very conceivable, that the *shape* of one set of characters may have easily led to the *shape* of the other set; but the supposition that the one *use* of characters could have been derived from the other *use*, even in the case most favourable to its possibility, involves a downright contradiction. However Dr. Warburton considered the facility of such derivation to be not only real, but also self-evident, so as not to require proof; at least he assumed it without giving any, in the general course of his argument, or till very near its close. Thus, immediately after accounting for men having arrived at the use of arbitrary graphic signs of their thoughts, he writes as follows: "Thus we have brought down the general history of writing, by a gradual and *easy* descent, from a picture to a letter; for the Chinese marks ——— are on the very border of letters; an alphabet invented to express sounds instead of things, being *only* a compendium of that large volume of arbitrary marks,"^a p. 131.^b And again, "—— now we are come to one of those links of the chain which served to connect hieroglyphic marks and alphabetic letters. For those hieroglyphic marks, which were signs of things by arbitrary institution, partook of the proper hieroglyphics, in being signs for things, and of alphabetic letters, in being signs by institution. And the

opposite bearing from the very same authors. However it is not worth while to detain the reader with the discussion, as the authority, on this point, of the ancients referred to is of very little weight: for even in their time the origin of alphabetic writing was wrapped in such obscurity, that they were just as liable to be mistaken about it as the moderns.

^a What a pity it is that the Bishop had not heard of the phonetic use of their characters made by the Chinese; as this use would have conducted him so much more plausibly, though not more truly, to "the very border of letters." Unfortunately the practice had scarcely commenced in China till after his time.

^b In specifying the pages of my quotations from Dr. Warburton's treatise, I refer to the London 8vo. edition of 1811, vol. iv.

contrivance of employing these arbitrary marks to design all the primitive sounds of the human voice, was inventing an alphabet. This was what the Egyptians called their *epistolic* writing; and this, let me observe, the ancients agree, was invented by the secretary of an Egyptian king," p. 153. Here an authority is put forward, but in so vague a manner by the words, "the ancients agree," as not to deserve any attention; and the whole force, such as it is, of the reasoning in both passages depends upon the assumed facility of the contrivance.

At length he endeavours to account for and substantiate this facility by the following semblance of a proof. "While the picture, or image of the thing represented, continued to be objected to the sight of the reader, it could raise no idea but of the thing itself. But when the picture lost its form, by being contracted into a mark or note, *the view of this mark or note would, in course of time, as naturally raise in the mind the sound expressing the idea of the thing, as the idea itself.* How this extension from the idea to the sound, in the use of the real character, first arose, will be easily conceived by those who reflect on the numerous tribe of words in all languages, which is formed on the sound emitted by the thing or animal. Yet the use to which this new connexion might be applied, would never be thought of till the nature of human sounds had been well studied. But when men had once observed, (and this they could not but observe *early and easily*, by the brute and inarticulate sounds which they were perpetually hearing emitted,) *how small the number is of primitive sounds, and how infinite the words are which may be formed by varied combinations of those simple sounds;* it would naturally and easily occur to them, that a very few of those marks, which had before casually excited the sensation of those simple sounds, might be selected and formed into what has been since called an alphabet, to express them all; and then their old accustomed way of combining primitive sounds into words, would as naturally and easily direct them to a like combination of what were now become the

simple marks of sound; from whence would arise LITERARY WRITING," pp. 155, 156.

Now I have to observe on this extract, in the first place, that there is, at the very commencement of it, a misrepresentation of the point to be proved; for if the transition from an arbitrary ideagraphic, or (as he calls it) real, mark to a letter, was only a transition from the mark, through the idea, to the sound expressing that idea; the facility of the process might be at once conceded to him; it is one which necessarily takes place in the mind of every person who reads out an ideagraphic legend. But what he really had to prove, in making out the transition from the idea to the letter, was not at all a passing from the idea to the sound expressing it, but from the idea to something with which it is totally unconnected; to something that has by itself no meaning, and what is more, that has by itself (as alphabets are now constructed) no sound. The transition, therefore, which he had to establish, is infinitely more difficult to account for than it would seem to be from his representation.

But, in the second place, and as respects matter of fact, there will be found involved in his statement an accumulation of at least five errors, some of which might be refuted by quotations from his own treatise. For instance, it is here asserted, 1st, that while a hieroglyph was the image of a thing, it could excite in the mind of the reader no idea but of the thing itself: it could not then, in consequence of any imagined analogy between that thing and something else, be transferred to denoting that other thing, and suggesting the idea of it to the mind; 2nd, that in all languages there is a numerous tribe—a vast number—of words naturally connected with the ideas they are employed to express; and of course that men of all nations can, to a certain extent, and that not a very limited one, converse with each other; for these numerous words that have a natural meaning must convey the same meaning to every one who hears them; 3rd, that in the formation of alphabets the powers of the letters were suggested by, and derived from, such of the above words as are elementary

or simple sounds: they were not deduced from sounds abstracted from sense, but only from significant sounds; and again, not from these indiscriminately, but only from such of them as had their signification, not by arbitrary association, but by a natural and necessary connexion; 4th, that men were led to the notice of *articulate* simple sounds by hearing *inarticulate* ones; 5th, that when once they had arrived at the observation of such sounds, they were necessarily aware of their number being very small, and of the possibility of all the words of their several languages being formed out of the varied combinations of this small number; so that all that is requisite to discovering the principle of alphabetical construction, is to be able to form or to notice simple articulate sounds; the rest follows as matter of course; but care is to be taken that these sounds are significant, and are so by a natural resemblance to the things which they signify, because it appears that it is only from the combination of such sounds that the words of any language are formed. So much for his view of the facts of the case.

I shall now, in the third place, proceed to consider his reasoning; and if the passage be stripped of its verbiage, I apprehend we shall find the main argument reduced to what the logicians call *a begging of the question*; that is, we shall find him assuming, and taking for granted, a proposition which includes the very question he wanted to prove. Undoubtedly *if* men had *early and easily* discovered the alphabetic principle, they would have *naturally and easily* formed alphabets on that principle, and as *naturally and easily* applied them to their proper use. But it is *not* certain that they discovered the principle either early or easily; and what is more, though not necessary to be added in answer to the Bishop, it is not certain, or even probable, that they ever reached it at all by discovery.

Thus then the argument fails in the statement of the question to be proved, in the statement of facts, and in the reasoning; so that the opinion maintained by Dr. Warburton has really nothing to rest on but his bare authority. Some, perhaps, may think that Plato and Cicero were as capable of forming a sound

judgment on the subject. They, both of them, saw into the real difficulty of the case,^a from which they concluded that alphabetic writing was not an invention of man, but a gift from the immortal gods. But instead of balancing authorities against each other, I shall confine myself to considering that of the Bishop alone; and I conceive that a mere statement of two other opinions maintained by him in the same treatise, will show how very little weight should be attached to his judgment on *this* particular subject. Beyond it I do not wish to be understood as extending the remark, since there is no occasion here for entering into any estimate of his general merits or demerits as a writer.

The first of those opinions which I shall mention is, that, while in the progress of human invention, the Chinese proceeded from pictures or graphic images to arbitrary marks, this order was reversed with respect to the Egyptians, and they, on the contrary, proceeded from arbitrary marks to images. Thus he writes: "How then came it to pass that Egypt, which had the same imperial fortune [as China] in a long flourishing dominion, should be so far from changing their analogic figures into arbitrary marks, that their arbitrary marks were almost lost and absorbed in analogic figures? This opposite progress in the issue of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt and China may, I think, be easily accounted for by the different genius of the two people. The Egyptians were extremely inventive; while the Chinese are known to be the least inventive people upon earth.^b Now the Egyptians, who were of a lively imagination, and studious of natural knowledge, though at first, like the Chinese, they expressed mental ideas by arbitrary marks, yet as

^a This difficulty is forcibly expressed in a few words by Cicero in his question: "Qui sonos vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis litterarum notis terminavit?"—*Tus. Quæst.* lib. i. cap. 25.

^b Where did Dr. Warburton find this out? assuredly not from the accounts of the Missionaries. They describe stupendous works of art erected by the Chinese, which show any thing but want of invention; at least as far as mechanics are concerned.

they improved their inventive faculties by use, they fell naturally into this method of expressing them by analogic or symbolic figures," pp. 127, 128. Again, a little further on: "But the course of the Mexican empire was too short to improve picture into an hieroglyphic; and the Chinese, which, in its long duration, hath brought this picture down, through hieroglyphics, to a simple mark or character, hath not yet (from the poverty of its inventive genius, and its aversion to foreign commerce^a) been able to find out an abridgment of those marks by letters: it was the old and well established monarchy of Egypt, so propitious to arts and civil policy, which carried the *picture*, through all the stages of its improvement, quite down to *letters*, the invention of this ingenious people."—p. 132.

Now I do not here dwell on its being (to say the least of it) very unphilosophic to suppose that a principle of so powerful a nature, as to extend its influence to nations the most remote from each other, and most opposite in tastes and habits, should yet have its operation—not varied by peculiar circumstances, for that would be a very legitimate hypothesis, but—*reversed* with respect to a particular people. Nor do I urge against Dr. Warburton's judgment, that this supposed reversing of the order of nature, in the case of the Egyptians, is disproved by recent discoveries to which he had not access, which show that in their ordinary writing, wherein they were not restrained by superstitious feelings, they got into characters as arbitrary as those employed by the Chinese. But, looking solely to what he has himself written on the subject, I would ask, how the above extracts can be reconciled with a leading theory of his in the very same treatise, viz. that it was through the channel of arbitrary marks that men arrived at the discovery of letters? As well as I can judge, he, in those quotations, directly and

^a Of this parenthesis, by which he endeavours to extricate himself from an inconsistency, the first part is a gratuitous assumption; and the second is a virtual admission that his theory is wrong, and that letters are *not* derivable from arbitrary marks, but from some external source.

doubly contradicts his own theory; for he makes the Chinese, who were, according to him, on the right road to letters, and for ages on that road, yet fail to arrive at them; and, on the contrary, he holds that the Egyptians were not going right, but exactly in the opposite direction, moving off from the only channel that could conduct them to the desired goal, and yet, notwithstanding, they are the very people to whom he gives the credit of having made out their way to that goal. When a writer thus contradicts himself upon any particular question, let his general talents and learning be what they may, his judgment is surely entitled to no attention on that subject.

The other opinion of his, to which I allude, is that alphabetic writing was invented (by the secretary of an Egyptian king) for the purpose of concealing secrets; namely, in order to write to leaders of armies and distant governors *letters of state*, which would be illegible to the people at large, and might be conveyed with the security of modern ciphers; and he sums up his account of the matter in the following words. "Thus the reader finds that the very contrary to the common opinion is true; that it was *the first literary writing*, not *the first hieroglyphical*, which was invented for secrecy," p. 155. Like other men of great genius, Dr. Warburton was fond of originality, and he certainly here struck out a very original thought. He was also, from his genius, fond of antithesis; and having in another part of this same treatise maintained (contrary to the express testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus, as shall be shown in the next chapter) that all hieroglyphs were at first designed for the purpose of plain open communication, he here laid it down, *per contra*, that letters were originally intended for privacy and concealment.

So, it seems, letter writing was at first quite obscure and difficult in comparison with the plain and legible hieroglyphs, and particularly so in comparison with the early hieroglyphs, which were not encumbered with a single mark to show the connexion of the characters. At the same time, however, it

was so very easy and obvious an invention ; it lay so much in the way for the first person who wanted it to put his hand upon it, that as soon as ever our secretary had occasion for a secret mode of conveying orders, he at once made this discovery. He did not arrive at it by a long and laborious process of invention ; he had not (unless very differently circumstanced from other secretaries of state) leisure for such occupation. Nor did he hit upon it accidentally by a happy turn of thought breaking in upon his mind when he was engaged with other subjects ; for he first felt the want of the accommodation, and then in consequence found it out. All this is very probable, it is so like the manner in which other great discoveries have been made ; and what heightens the probability is, that men were considerably advanced in arts at the time ; for we are informed by Kircher, that the prince who had this same very clever secretary, was one of the grandsons of Noah !

I hope the reader will excuse my not hunting out for the place where I came across such valuable information in the pages of Kircher ; and also that he will dispense with my entering into any formal or serious discussion as to the soundness of the above opinion of Dr. Warburton.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WRITING.

WHEN we enter upon a particular consideration of Egyptian writing, our attention is naturally turned to the remarkable passage of Clemens, the Alexandrian Presbyter, in which he treats of this subject. Notwithstanding the great obscurity in which parts of it are involved, it is particularly interesting to the scholar; as being the only one, entitled to credit, that has brought down to our times any thing like a detailed and consistent account of the different kinds of writing in use among the ancient Egyptians.^a Hence several efforts have been made to clear up its meaning, but hitherto without success; so that after so many failures, I should be apprehensive of being considered presumptuous in making a fresh attempt, were it not that those very failures, while they mark the difficulty of the investigation, serve at the same time to give a better direction to it by pointing out the errors which are to be avoided. Besides, part of the difficulty has been removed by the discoveries in Egyptian antiquities which have been made within the present century, and further aid may be expected from the

^a The few scattered passages on this subject, which are found in the works of earlier authors than Clemens, are too scanty or vague to afford satisfactory information; and the descriptions given by Greek writers of the ages next after his, are evident plagiarisms from this and other passages of his *Stromata*, mixed up with puerilities and contradictions that render them very little worthy of attention. Any person who will take the trouble of looking into the writings of Iamblicus and Horapollo will see that this is not too severe a judgment on them; neither are the extant works of Porphyry, though displaying more subtilty, to be exempted from the same reproof; and I believe that much of the confusion and perplexity observable in Dr. Warburton's treatise on hieroglyphs, may be attributed to his having relied on such authorities as the writers just mentioned.

same source, according as our knowledge of the subject to which the passage in question relates shall be extended.

Influenced by such considerations, an able writer not long since recommended a re-examination of the words of Clemens, and a renewal of the discussion respecting their meaning. Upon this point, M. Klaproth, in his *Examen Critique*, published at Paris in the year 1832, expresses himself as follows: "Un morceau célèbre de saint Clément d'Alexandrie a surtout été l'objet d'un examen attentif de la part des savans, parce qu'ils le supposaient plus propre que tout autre à jeter du jour sur les différens procédés que les anciens Egyptiens employaient pour se communiquer leurs pensées. Une explication, plus lumineuse et plus plausible que toutes celles qui avaient précédé, a été donnée récemment par M. Letronne; et toute fois on ne saurait assurer que cette explication ait levé toutes les difficultés que le passage présentait, et qu'il n'ait, même après le travail du célèbre helléniste, besoin d'être encore repris et discuté à l'aide de la connaissance que l'on aura acquise du sujet auquel il se rapporte."—p. 11.

It is true that he does not give much encouragement to the undertaking; for, after the words just quoted, he goes on to say: "Loin de servir à l'explication des hiéroglyphes, on peut dire que ce fragment de saint Clément d'Alexandrie ne sera lui-même complètement éclairci qu'après que les hiéroglyphes auront été parfaitement connus, s'il est possible d'espérer que cette découverte puisse jamais s'effectuer." But he appears to have here yielded to a greater despondency than was justified by the nature of the case; and to have both overrated the difficulty, and underrated the value, of success. For the understanding of the Greek passage in question does not depend solely and exclusively on our knowledge of hieroglyphs; and therefore it is not fair to assume, that, unless the latter subject be completely developed, the former cannot be understood. Neither is the inference correct, that, because hieroglyphs afford aid towards the explanation of the Greek, therefore this Greek cannot afterwards contribute any help to the better understand-

ing of the hieroglyphs. On the contrary, it is very possible that the passage, when once its meaning is cleared up, may throw light upon the subject of which it treats, even though our previous imperfect knowledge of that subject was one of the very means by which the true signification of the words had been discovered. This process of mutual elucidation may be observed in other investigations, and there is no reason whatever for despairing of its operation in this one also. Without further apology then I shall submit my attempt to the judgment of the reader; first giving the original with a general rendering of its meaning, and afterwards entering more minutely into particulars. The previous interpretations to which I shall principally refer, are those of Dr. Warburton and M. Letronne; because the one was the most in repute of those published before the discovery of the Rosetta stone, and the other is, I believe, the latest and best of those which have since appeared.

“*Ἀντίκα οἱ παρ’ Ἀιγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Ἀιγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλουμένην· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ἹΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, ἣ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ἹΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ· ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ, συμβολική· τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς, ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δ’ ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀλληγορεῖται κατὰ τινὰς ἀνιγμούς. Ἡλίον γ’ οὖν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· Σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδές, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος· τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ’ οἰκειότητα μετὰγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες· τὰ δ’, ἐξαλλάττοντες· τὰ δὲ, πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσιν· τοὺς γ’ οὖν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνιγμοὺς τρίτου εἶδους, δείγμα ἔστω τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὅφρων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον· τὸν δὲ Ἡλίον, τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου· ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερές ἐκ τῆς βοείας*

ὄνθου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀντιπρόσωπος κυλίνδει.” — *Strom.* lib. v. p. 405, ed. Heinsii.^a

“ Now those who are educated among the Egyptians learn, first of all, the method of Egyptian writing, called *EPISTOLOGRAPHIC*; secondly, the *HIERATIC*, or sacerdotal method, which the sacred scribes employ; and lastly, the final or complete kind, the *HIEROGLYPHIC*: of which indeed there are two sorts, the one, *curiologic*, by means of the first elements (of words), [that is, plainly and directly expressive of words, by means of hieroglyphs employed as letters]; and the other, *symbolic*: [in modern language these two sorts would be called the *phonetic* and the *ideagraphic* species of the hieroglyphic method of writing]. Of the *symbolic* kind, again, there are three sorts; the first is *curiologic*, or plainly and directly expressive (of ideas), by means of imitation; [in other words, the characters of this sort are *pictural*, being employed to denote directly those particular objects of which they are immediate imitations]; the second is *tropic*, being written after the manner of *tropes* or metaphors; and the third is, on the contrary, *enigmatic*, expressing openly something different from the secret meaning, by means of certain *enigmas*, [which are of an opposite nature to that of the tropes in respect of their meaning being designedly obscure]. As an instance of the *direct mimetic* species, they indicate the sun by a circle, and the moon, by the lunar shape, a crescent. According to the *tropic* species they insculp their characters in stone in three ways; partly, making such lesser changes or transfers of their meaning as is consistent with familyship, [that is, such, that the object to which the signification of each character is transferred should be of the same family or class with that which it primarily and directly denoted]; partly, altering their significations in a more decided manner

^a For the convenience of the reader, and also of the printer, I have removed the contractions from the above extract; and shall observe the same rule whenever, in the editions of Greek works which I may have occasion to consult, the text is printed in a contracted manner.

without the preceding restriction; and partly, changing their forms in a great variety of ways; [in the modern style of expression, the *tropics*, or characters *turned* and transferred from their primary and direct use as pictures, would be said to be formed by three operations; partly, by making the pictures *general* in their signification; partly, by making them *metaphoric* in their signification; and partly, by making them *arbitrary* in their shape]. Transmitting then the praises of their kings in narratives told in the theologic style, they make their inscriptions by means of these insculptures. Of the *enigmatic*, or third species of symbolic writing, let this serve as an example: as to the other [circumvolvent] luminaries, on account of the erratic nature of their motions, they represented them by the bodies of serpents; but the sun, by that of the beetle, in consequence of the spherical shape of the ball of cow-dung, which this insect makes [to deposit its eggs in], and forms by rolling it round in a situation facing the sun, [for the advantage of a warm aspect].”

With respect to the methods of writing which are here mentioned, but not described, under the denominations of *Hieratic* and *Epistolographic*, although there was great uncertainty, and indeed ignorance, as to their nature, before the Rosetta inscription had presented to observation a specimen of one of them; yet since then, abundance of MSS. on papyrus have been found illustrative of both methods. Moreover, the expression concerning the direct representation (of words) by their first elements, has been fully explained by Dr. Young's discovery; and what Clemens intended by the *direct mimetic* and the *enigmatic* species of symbolic writing can be clearly ascertained; the former, by the sole consideration of the examples contained in the passage; and the latter, by means of those here adduced, compared with an account of the same subject which he has left in another place. The only serious difficulty therefore which remains to be grappled with, is the meaning of the part of the passage in which the formation of the *tropics* is alluded to in general terms, vaguely and without any illustration. In sup-

port of the interpretation of this part, which is now submitted to the decision of the learned, I have some observations to make; but I shall go regularly in order through what appears to me deserving of notice in the whole of the description here given of the ancient hieroglyphic system.

ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογικὴ ἡ δὲ, συμβολικὴ.] Clemens here divides hieroglyphic writing into phonetic and symbolic, but it should be borne in memory, that, in another passage already given, he stated the symbolic (or ideagraphic) kind to have been that which was principally cultivated in Egypt (or studied with zeal by the most intelligent of the Egyptians); and it is here also shown that he considered the former kind as comparatively unimportant; for he only barely mentions it, while, on the contrary, he enters into a detail of particulars respecting the latter. From both places it seems probable, that the phonetic writing formed but a very inconsiderable portion of the entire system.

With respect to the terms in which the phonetic use of hieroglyphs is here described, I am surprised at the great importance attached to them by M. Letronne. In his essay on the whole passage,^a he enters into a very minute examination of this part; which he calls, “l’expression la plus controversée de tout ce passage et l’une des plus importantes,” p. 386; and, in particular, he has himself raised a difficulty about the meaning of *πρώτων*, the determining of which he appears to consider the point of most consequence in the entire investigation. I confess I do not think he has rightly fixed the sense in which the word is here used; but even supposing he had, what advantage would result, or what new information would be thence derived? The only rational motive for investigating the meaning of any part of the passage, is in order that we may arrive at a knowledge of what is therein conveyed: it is not about the *words* we are

^a Inserted in the second edition of the *Précis* of M. Champollion, published at Paris in 1828.—It is to this edition I shall always refer in specifying the page of any quotation from the *Précis*.

anxious, but about the *things* described by their means. But in the instance before us, the *thing* alluded to is completely known already through Young's discovery, and it is therefore very immaterial what view Clemens took of it, or in what terms he expressed that view.

However, as M. Letronne took such an interest in this point, which he tells us he would discuss "avec un soin proportionné à l'extrême importance du passage," p. 387; and as his opinions on subjects of Greek criticism are not to be lightly dismissed, I shall advert to the three which he successively held in reference to the signification of the word in question. Two of these he admitted to have been refuted, so that there will remain but the third to be minutely canvassed. He first supposed that by *πρώτων* was meant *initial*. "Au premier coup-d'œil, Je crus qu'il s'agissait des *premières lettres de chaque mot*. Cette idée était favorisée par les exemples déjà cités dans la lettre à M. Dacier, où sont rassemblés beaucoup de signes phonétiques exprimant des idées dont le nom, dans la langue parlée, commence par la lettre que ce signe représente," p. 392. However, he quickly abandoned this opinion for the following very decisive reason: "En effet, si telle eût été l'intention de Clément d'Alexandrie, il était absolument indispensable qu'il joignît un complément à *διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων*, comme par exemple, *διὰ τῶν, ἐκάστου ὀνόματος, ou ἐκάστης λέξεως, πρώτων στοιχείων*, ou toute autre chose de ce genre," p. 392.^a

^a M. Letronne here speaks as if he had himself hit off this refutation, for he introduces it with the assertion, "mais le plus léger examen me fit abandonner cette idée." But I am sure that such could not be his meaning, because he saw the learned remark on this very point made by Professor Weiske of Leipsic, to whose commentary on the entire phrase he alludes in the beginning of his essay. The professor's words are as follows: "At si noster [Clemens] τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα *initiales* voluisset esse verbi cujusque *litteras*, haud dubie τοῦ ὀνόματος, vel ὀνόματος ἐκαστοῦ addidisset." He then gives his own opinion and translates the Greek expression, "*simplicissimos sonos, qui literis exprimuntur*;" which is just the same meaning as that finally adopted by M. Letronne, and of course the same refutation will answer for both.

He next thought that by *πρώτων στοιχείων* Clemens meant the sixteen letters, which, according to ancient tradition, were those first brought into Greece : “ Et cela est conforme à la nature de ces sons plus élémentaires, plus simples que les huit autres, et conséquemment qui ont dû être exprimés *les premiers* par des caractères.”—p. 394. But he states an objection made against this notion, which he admits to be valid : “ Il a paru singulier que Clément d’Alexandrie allât chercher son exemple dans l’histoire obscure de l’alphabet grec, pour expliquer la nature de celui des Egyptiens. Et cette objection, à la bien examiner, me semble maintenant assez forte.”—p. 395.^a Finally, he decided that the words signified the primitive simple sounds of language, generally, without reference to any particular alphabet : “ — le mot *πρῶτα* se rapporte, non à l’alphabet primitif, tel qu’était l’alphabet phénicien, mais aux *sons primitifs*, en general, c’est-à-dire, aux plus élémentaires et aux plus simples de tous.”—p. 395.

Now, I must here beg leave to observe, that if the second opinion was rightly rejected, because it was not to be expected that the Egyptians could have known any thing about the early history of the Greek alphabet, so as to be thereby directed in the selection of their own phonetic signs ; similar reasoning will apply, with infinitely greater force, against the third hypothesis. For it is quite inconceivable that the Egyptians could have made so subtle a distinction as that between primitive and secondary simple articulate sounds, or between letters of primitive and secondary powers. To show the great difficulty of such distinction, I will just point out to the reader’s consideration one of the examples given by M. Letronne, in which he places in juxta-position the Greek letters Π and Φ . A Hebrew scholar would probably say, that the sound corresponding to the second of these was the primitive one, because he has but one

^a The objection was made by the Edinburgh Reviewer, in his number of December, 1826, article on Hieroglyphics, p. 103.

character for both powers, which he more generally employs with the second, and formerly it was used with that one alone.^a A Grecian, on the contrary, would be more likely to decide that Π was the letter of primitive power, because Φ was later introduced into his alphabet; and a person using Roman characters might be inclined to the same conclusion, because, while he expresses the former power by p , he usually represents the latter by ph . But suppose he employs for this purpose f instead of ph , I suspect he will then find it not so very easy a matter to determine which is the primitive power, that of p or of f . How is he to compare them? They are uttered by different organs, the former by the lips alone, and the latter by the lips and teeth: so that if the arbitrary classifications of grammarians be put out of view, it would require great philological acumen to decide the question.

However, it is but just to observe, that M. Letronne brings forward several examples of an indiscriminate use of powers by the Egyptians; of their confounding, for instance, in their system of phonetic signs, Π with Φ , Γ with K , Δ with T and Θ , and so on, p. 396; and that he considers these examples as

^a Numerous examples might be produced from the Septuagint version to show, that, where the letter פ is now pronounced as p , it was formerly made equivalent to ph . Thus, in the word פִּלִּשְׁתִּים, Gen. xxi. 34, the initial letter must, according to the rules laid down by modern Hebrew grammarians, be sounded p , without any aspiration; and accordingly in all the pointed books there is a daggesh in it to mark that it should be so read; but it is rendered in the Greek φυλιστιειμ. This ancient pronunciation of the letter continued down as late at any rate as the time of St. Jerome; for, in his commentary on Isaiah, he makes the general remark which closes the following extract: "Pro *Philisthiim* semper LXX. *alienigenas* interpretati sunt, nomen commune pro proprio, quæ est hodie gens Palæstinorum, quasi Philisthinorum, quia *P* literam sermo Hebraicus non habet, sed pro ea *PHI* Græco utitur."—*Com. in Isaiam*, cap. ii. ver. 7: and his authority for the correct pronunciation of the letter, in the above particular instance at least, is independent of the evidence to the same effect which may be derived from the LXX. as it appears from the commencement of the extract that he overlooked the example which I have given from the Greek version.

illustrative and confirmatory of his opinion. There is certainly a little confusion of thought here; but where a writer's statement of his opinion and his illustration of it are at variance, it is fair to understand him as speaking in a sense agreeing with that mode of expression, which of the two affords the more favourable representation of his views. By this rule then it appears, M. Letronne did not at all mean that the Egyptians distinguished between two kinds of simple articulate sounds, and employed only "les plus élémentaires, les plus simples de tous;" but, on the contrary, that they did *not* so distinguish between them, and not only that they did not discriminate between certain powers, as to which were primitive, which secondary, but that they did not discriminate between them *at all*. Now, this exactly agrees with what we learn from Dr. Young's discovery, as verified and extended by M. Champollion; and if the purport of the terms used by Clemens was hereto accordant, they would on the point in question correctly express the real state of the case. The only drawback on this explication of the third opinion is, that it is impossible to put on the words *διὰ πρῶτων στοιχείων* a construction conformable to it, or to make *first elements* signify, *different elements promiscuously used*. But I ought to apologise to the reader for taking up his time with this *difficult trifle*, which indeed nothing could justify me in doing but the attention which M. Letronne bestowed upon it.

What Clemens precisely meant by the term *πρῶτων*, it is, for the reason already stated, very immaterial to determine; but if it were worth giving an opinion upon, I should say, that he used it in this instance as a mere pleonasm; just as in English we speak of the elements, or first elements, of any thing, in the same sense. Or, if he is to get credit for greater accuracy of expression, he may possibly have conceived the elements of words to be syllables, and the elements of these again to be letters, which would thus come out *first elements* in reference to words. But however the result be arrived at or accounted

for, Young's discovery has made it quite certain that *first elements* here denote *letters*, in that loose sense in which they are synonymous with *phonetic signs*.

ἀντικρυσ ἀλληγορεῖται] M. Letronne translates these words, "se sert *entièrement* d'allegories;" upon which he gives the following note, "*ἀντικρυσ* pourrait indiquer opposition et signifier *au contraire*, tout aussi bien que *ἀντικρὺ*, puisque la distinction établie par les anciens grammariens entre ces deux formes, est réellement nulle. On objecte, avec quelque raison, que les deux genres, le *tropique* et l'*énigmatique*, ne sont pas assez opposés pour autoriser un tel sens. J'ai donc préféré de prendre le sens de *διόλου, παντελῶς*, que les grammariens donnent à *ἀντικρυσ*,"—p. 379. Now, I have a double reason for preferring the meaning which is here rejected. In the first place, I shall presently show by an example of an enigmatic sentence elsewhere given by Clemens, that the epithet, *entirely* or *throughout* allegoric, is inapplicable to such sentences; as they may in great part consist of plain mimetic characters. In the next place, the passage with which he introduces that example will prove that there was a very decided opposition between the tropic and enigmatic species; for he therein expressly informs us, that the latter was designed for the purpose of concealment and mystery. But this could not be the case with respect to the former, which was specially employed for celebrating the praises of the Egyptian kings; and being thus intended for the most public and open communication, cannot be supposed to contain any characters purposely obscure. I admit, that to us most of the tropic hieroglyphs are as unintelligible as any enigmatic ones could be: customs have long since ceased, and instruments have gone out of use, the allusions to which were quite familiar to the Egyptians; but the significations which were founded on those allusions are now irrecoverably lost. The opposition, therefore, between the two kinds exists not in reference to our apprehension; but this does not prevent its having been both a real and a very marked one in the time of Clemens.

ἥλιον γοῦν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιούσι· Σελή-
νην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδές, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος.]
It is to be observed, that the examples here given of direct mi-
metics are images of particular objects, of which the ideas were
not so generalized as that each object might be considered one
of a family or species; for the ancients had no conception of
there being several suns or several moons. It is true, that
towards the close of the whole passage Clemens speaks of the
sun and the *other* ἄστρο, which shows that he ranked these
heavenly bodies in some respect or other under the same class.
But he did so, not from supposing that the sun and planets had
the same general nature, and belonged to the same species, but
merely from their having, as was maintained by the astronomers
of his day, the common property of revolving round the earth.

Τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέν-
τες· τὰ δ', ἐξαλλάττοντες· τὰ δὲ, πολλαχῶς μετασχηματί-
ζοντες, χαράττουσιν.] The great obscurity of this description
arises from Clemens confining himself in it to general terms, and
not giving particular examples of the tropic species, as he has of
both the other kinds of symbolic hieroglyphs. The consequence
is, that the translations, hitherto made, supply, either, through
vagueness, no meaning, or meanings decidedly wrong. Of the
former class is the old Latin version, which is in the following
terms: "Tropice autem per convenientiam traducentes et trans-
ferrentes, et alia quidem immutantes, alia vero multis modis
transfigurantes, imprimunt."—*Ed. Heinsii*, p. 405. Bishop
Warburton's version is not much more explicit; it runs thus:
"The second, or tropical way of writing, is by changing and
transferring the object with justness and propriety: this they
do, sometimes by a simple change, sometimes by a complex
multifarious transformation."—p. 142. The Edinburgh Re-
viewer, in the article already alluded to, proceeds thus: "Ac-
cording to the tropical method, they represent objects by means
of certain agreements (or analogies), which they transfer into
the expression of those objects, sometimes by modifications (of

form), most frequently [he here confounds *πολλαχῶς* with *πολλάκις*] by complete transformations.”—p. 102. This version is founded principally on the earlier ones of M. Letronne, and agrees in substance with his last, which is written as follows: “Dans la méthode tropique, changeant et détournant le sens des objets par voie d’analogie, ils les expriment, soit en modifiant leur image, soit en lui faisant subir divers genres de transformations.”—p. 379. All the translators whose attempts I have seen, however they may differ in other respects, have here fallen in common into two mistakes, which a due consideration of the subject, and particularly of the Greek itself, will enable us to detect. 1st. They make the first clause of the sentence to apply to the whole tropic method, and the second and third clauses to be subdivisions of the first. They were led into this error from there being no partitive particle prefixed to the first clause; but such an omission is very common in the first member of a distributive sentence, not only in Greek but also in other languages: and if the partition commenced, as they imagined, at the second clause, the partitive expression prefixed to this clause would have been *τὰ μὲν*; whereas it is *τὰ δὲ*, which indicates, not the beginning of a division, but the continuation of one already begun in the preceding clause.^a 2. They make the

^a From the charge of this mistake, I find by the following note of M. Letronne, that one translator is to be exempted: “M. de Goulianoff voit ici trois opérations: 1. *μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες*, 2. *ἐξαλλάττοντες*, 3. *μετασχηματίζοντες*. Je ne puis être de son avis; l’absence de régime devant les deux premiers montre bien que les deux seconds, devant lesquels sont les régimes *τὰ δὲ*, ne font qu’expliquer leur signification. Dans le sens qu’il adopte, je doute que la phrase soit grecque: telle qu’elle est, elle revient à *τὰ πράγματα μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ... τὰ δὲ μεταγ...*” pp. 379, 380. M. Letronne was a little too precipitate here in his censure of this translator. When I found that M. de Goulianoff was so far on the right track, I was at first anxious to see how he got through the remainder of the sentence; but my curiosity was entirely removed by another note of M. Letronne, in which he informs us that the two translators were in the main agreed: “Le point principal sur lequel nous différons, concerne aussi l’expression relative aux hieroglyphes phonétiques,”—p. 378.

second and third clauses both to denote changes in the *form* of the character; the second, of a simpler, and the third of a more complicated and more decisive nature. But change of form is expressly indicated only in the third clause, and the addition of the qualification, *πολλαχῶς*—multifariously or with great variety—shows that all transformations are reserved for that clause. What then can be the nature of the alterations alluded to in the first two? To answer this question, we must consider that the only possible change that can be made in a graphic sign must be either in its shape or in its signification. But the former is wholly engrossed by the third clause, therefore, the latter one is all that remains for the other two. In both of them a change of meaning is indicated, but a greater one in the second than in the first clause, as appears not only from the different force of the Greek words, but also from there being a restriction added in the one case and none in the other. By such considerations I have been led to the conclusion, that the first operation referred to by Clemens is *a transfer of the meaning of a sign according to familyship*. This act of transferring he expresses by two words, *μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες*; between which, in their application here, I confess I do not see any difference, therefore, I will not pretend to assign one: possibly he used them with none, but, in a loose way, only added the second to enforce the idea conveyed by the first. But even supposing Clemens had some distinction here in his mind, the ascertaining it could not be of any great consequence, as the restriction he has added informs us of all that is material to be known as to the general nature of the operation: the transfer must be such, that the object of thought, newly signified by the hieroglyph, should be of the same family or class as the old one. The second operation is not a mere transfer of signification; it is an alteration of it, *an alteration of the meaning of a sign, unaccompanied by the preceding restriction*. The third operation is *a changing of the shape of a hieroglyph in a great variety of ways.*"

τοὺς γοῦν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογουμένοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγραφούσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων.] In all the versions of this sentence there may be observed, in reference to its last word, the same want of meaning, or incorrectness of meaning, that was noticed in the several translations of the preceding extract. Thus the old Latin rendering here is, “Regum itaque laudes fabulis theologicis mandantes, *anaglyphicis* describunt.”—p. 405. Warburton’s note upon the meaning of the word is: “I suppose it was Clemens’s intention only to tell us that tropical symbols were chiefly to be met with on their stone monuments, *engraven in relief*: which was true.”—*Note* (HH), p. 400. The Edinburgh Reviewer and M. Le-tronne both imitate the old Latin translator in transferring the word in its Greek form into their versions; but the former gives the paraphrase of it, which closes the following sentence: “Thus, when they transmit the praises of their kings in their theological fables, they describe them by means of *anaglyphs*, that is, by *transpositions, or transformations of the hieroglyphs*.”—p. 102. The latter thus expresses the meaning which he attaches to the word: “Je voudrais pouvoir définir ce que l’auteur entend par *anaglyphes*, qui servaient, comme on voit, pour l’expression *tropique* ou *figurée*—Pourquoi donc Clément d’Alexandrie borne-t-il les *anaglyphes* à l’écriture symbolique figurée? Il faut qu’il entende par-là une espèce particulière de *figures sculptées*, servant toutefois comme *écriture*.”—p. 382. Whether, like Warburton, he understood these “*figures sculptées*” to be raised from the stone *in relievo*, I cannot tell, as he refers for a more particular description of them to observations of M. Silvestre de Sacy, which I have not seen; but his opinion of their shape may be collected from his note on *μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες*. “La synonymie de ces deux mots est difficile, et le sens est obscur; mais on devine qu’il s’agit de *transposition*, comme serait telle partie d’un objet transportée sur un autre, et de *changement* de forme; idées qui doivent être expliquées par les mots suivans, *ἐξάλλάττοντες*

et μετασχηματίζοντες, qui me paraissent s'entendre l'un d'une *modification* de forme, l'autre d'un *changement total* ou de *transformation*." The paraphrase of the Reviewer seems to be a mere abridgment of this note, and of course the same refutation serves for both: the reader is, I hope, already satisfied that the words *μετάγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες* have no reference whatever to the *shape* of the characters, but only to their *meaning*; and even if this had not been proved, the mind surely, after any reflection, could never acquiesce in the arbitrary distinction here made between them; a distinction that has no foundation whatever in either their Greek etymology, or in the nature of the subject to which they are applied. With respect to the notion, which was, I believe, originally started by Dr. Warburton, and is still retained by some writers, that the tropics stood out from the surface *in relievo*; this is contradicted by the words of Clemens in the most express manner: for he says, in the former part of his description of them, that men *χαράττουσιν*, *sink* them in the stone; and accordingly they are not raised, but sunk characters, differing nothing in this respect from hieroglyphs in general. What led Dr. Warburton astray in this instance, was his looking to the separate force of the component parts of the word *ἀναγλύφων*; but experience shows this to be a very unsafe way of determining the meaning of a compound. *Ἀναγράφω* is more frequently met in Greek; and in several passages the context proves it to correspond with the Latin *inscribo*; from which it may be fairly inferred, by analogy, that *ἀναγλύφω* means *insculpo*. The difference of the combinations by which the same idea is expressed in the two languages, may be accounted for by conceiving, that, in forming them, the Greek looked to the surface *on* which; and the Latin, to the substance *in* which, the sculpture was made. *Ἀναγλύφων* then means *insculptures*; and Clemens called the hieroglyphs, when tropically used, *insculptures*, instead of *sacred sculptures*, only because the subjects they were then employed to record were not sacred ones. But that he did not use the word ana-

glyphs to express a different set of characters from hieroglyphs, is quite evident even from the simple consideration, that he made the writing composed of them to be one kind of hieroglyphic writing. He did not then at all mean by these anaglyphs a distinct species of character, but merely the common hieroglyphs applied to a distinct use.

I have been thus particular in exposing the fallacy of the notion, that hieroglyphs and anaglyphs constituted quite different kinds of writing; because from this assumed difference it has been attempted to deduce the conclusion, that the accounts of Egyptian legends left us by the ancients, related all to texts formed of anaglyphs, and not of hieroglyphs. The great value of this position to a supporter of the phonetic theory now in vogue may be easily seen: because if it was once established, it would remove a fatal objection to his system. For should he be asked, why, if the hieroglyphic writing be in the main phonetic, have the ancients given it the general character of being symbolic, i. e. ideagraphic; and how, upon that supposition, is it to be accounted for, that every single specimen of it which they have transmitted to us is ideagraphic? he could evade the force of the question by replying, that the ancient accounts were not about hieroglyphs at all, but about anaglyphs. Accordingly M. Champollion was particularly anxious to establish this point, and having remarked that scarcely any of the groups described by Horapollon are to be found in the hieroglyphic legends now extant, he assumed, in conformity with the suggestions of M. Letronne already noticed, that certain distorted figures, and unnatural combinations of figures, still remaining *in relief* on the walls of Egyptian buildings, composed the characters called *anaglyphs* by the ancients.^a And he proceeded to draw his

^a “ — qui sont des compositions extraordinaires, où des êtres fantastiques, soit même des êtres réels qui n'ont entre eux aucune relation dans la nature, sont cependant unis, rapprochés et mis en action. Ces bas-reliefs, purement *allégoriques* ou *symboliques*, qui abondent sur les constructions égyptiennes, furent particulièrement désignés par les anciens sous le nom

inference as follows, (with respect to one ancient writer, but it is plain that the same reasoning might be applied to all of those who have transmitted to us any information upon the subject;) “Cette distinction établie, il est aisé de voir que l’ouvrage d’Horapollon se rapporte bien plus spécialement à l’explication des images dont se composaient les *anaglyphes*, qu’aux éléments ou caractères de *l’écriture hiéroglyphique* proprement dite.”—p. 349. There is, it is true, a trifling objection to this conclusion, viz. that Horapollo entitles his book *Ἱερογλυφικά*, which seems to imply that the legends therein described were hieroglyphic, (and it might be added generally, that the texts, of which accounts have been transmitted to us by the ancients, are expressly called by them hieroglyphic). But the fact is, Horapollo did not know the meaning of the Greek word as well as M. Champollion, and made a wrong application of it in this instance, which was the cause of the very prevalent mistake now rectified by the learned Frenchman: “Le titre si vague de ce livre, *Ἱερογλυφικά* (*sculptures sacrées* ou *gravures sacrées*), est la seule cause de la méprise. Confondre un *anaglyphe*

d’anaglyphes, que nous adopterons désormais.”—p. 348. Having now found out characters for this writing of his own creation, the next thing to be done was to get some use for it. But M. Champollion was never stopped by a trifling difficulty, and disposed of this one as follows: “S’il existait en Egypte, comme certains témoignages très-multipliés des anciens peuvent nous porter à le supposer, un système réservé à la caste sacerdotale et à ceux-là seuls qu’elle initiait à ses mystères, ce dut être *nécessairement* la méthode qui présidait au tracé des *anaglyphes*. Ces bas-reliefs ou tableaux, composés d’êtres fantastiques, ne procédant que par symboles, contiennent *évidemment* les plus secrets mystères de la théologie,”—p. 426. The *evident* certainty of the use he made out for his newly discovered writing is very amusing. In the meantime we know, through Clemens, that it was the *enigmatic* method which was used for the purpose here described; and as to the *tropic* writing, in which employment of hieroglyphs they were called *anaglyphs*, we are expressly informed by the same authority, that this kind was intended for celebrating the praises of the Egyptian kings, and of course for the most general and public reading, the very opposite use to that attributed to it by M. Champollion. To such an extent did this giddy writer betray either ignorance of his subject or disregard of truth.

avec un *texte hieroglyphique*, ce serait tomber dans l'erreur trop commune que nous avons signalée dans notre paragraphe premier." !!!—p. 349. Thus to establish his conclusion, he requires the reader to believe, 1st, that anaglyphs were quite a different kind of character from hieroglyphs, although Clemens makes them out hieroglyphs, that is, hieroglyphs applied to a particular subject; 2nd, that anaglyphs were used to conceal the mysteries of religion, though Clemens tells us expressly they were used for the publication, not concealment, of a subject quite unconnected with religion; 3rd, that the characters explained to us by the ancients were not hieroglyphs, though the ancients themselves expressly called them by that name. Surely the reader must be very unreasonable, if he will not acquiesce in so modest a demand.

To return to Clemens's account of the tropics: what makes the development of its meaning particularly interesting is, that the Rosetta inscription—the true touchstone of Egyptian inquiries—the great standard and criterion by which the questions connected with this subject must be decided—this inscription is all about the praises of a king; that is, it is on the very subject to which Clemens informs us tropics were applied. Let us try then how far actual observation will confirm his testimony in reference to this inscription. That there are no enigmatic characters here is nearly certain from their mysterious signification being absolutely inconsistent with the public nature of the communication for which the document was intended. At the same time it must be admitted that this point cannot be confirmed by observation; because, although the distinction was probably a very obvious one to the Egyptians, yet we are, for the most part, now unable to discriminate between tropic and enigmatic characters; to us they are all, with few exceptions, equally obscure. There is, however, one kind of character employed in the inscription, which, with the help of the Greek translation, we are perfectly able to understand, viz. the mimetic characters. Now it deserves to be remarked, that not a single one of these is pictural: every one, without ex-

ception, is a tropic, and is, in its meaning, referred to a family or species. Here then, as far as our observation can be brought to bear upon the subject, it fully and completely agrees with the testimony of Clemens, in proving the general text of this laudatory document to be ideagraphic,—to be that particular species of symbolic or ideagraphic writing which he denominated *tropic*.

It remains to be considered how many kinds of characters there can be in this inscription besides the phonetic ones, which are separated, by the cartouches surrounding them, from the general text.^a And here it is to be observed, that the division of Clemens is not, like the modern one, into species, but is what is called by the logicians an integral division; the tropics, according to his account, being formed by three operations; partly by generalizing the sign; partly by metaphorizing it; and partly by rendering it arbitrary. Now, from this way of describing the division, it is evident that each species may be formed by one or more operations; so that we can have three species by separate operations; three more by them combined two by two; and one by the combination of all three. Thus, instead of getting, in addition to pictural characters, the two kinds supplied by the modern division, namely, the metaphoric and arbitrary kinds; instead of these two we get seven: and the great superiority of this over the modern division is not merely that it is more comprehensive; but also that the operation referred to in it, the consideration of which is altogether omitted in the other, is by far the most important one of all. For as Locke observed, that we should be incapable of language

^a I do not mean to say, the account of Clemens proves there were no phonetic signs employed in the general text. I admit this would be straining his words too far; and that all that can be fairly inferred from them is, that the great body of that text was ideagraphic. However, from other considerations, and particularly from an examination of the inscription itself, I think it may be shown probable that there were scarcely any phonetic signs in it outside the cartouches; afterwards it is likely that their use gradually increased.

without general words, so without general graphic signs we could have no writing that deserved the name.

With respect to pictural characters, great abundance of them is to be found in the sacred legends still extant, in which the names of individual gods are frequently thus written; the total omission, therefore, of these characters in so long a text as that of the Rosetta inscription, is a very striking circumstance, and presents a marked line of distinction between the historic and the sacred records in corroboration of the account left us by Clemens. There occurs indeed sometimes in this inscription a character which was originally pictural, and denoted the God Osiris, but afterwards became a generic sign for Deity, as has been already explained. It is not, however, here employed to express the idea of a god (a *hatchet* is the characteristic emblem applied to that purpose^a), and what precise meaning it is intended to convey has not yet been ascertained; but this much at all events is known, that it is not used as a pictural character; for a proper name is never met in a corresponding part of the alphabetic writing. On the other hand, where the name of the individual called *Phtha* occurs in the Greek, we never find a mimetic character in the place that tallies with it among the hieroglyphs, in which situation it necessarily would be pictural; but we meet there a plough. This, however, is a natural emblem of the god; for we are informed by Eusebius, that he was the Vulcan of the Egyptians, and was considered the inventor of instruments of husbandry. Here we have an example of a tropic formed by all the three operations combined: there is evidently generalization, for the plough is one of a class; there is employment of metaphor, for the sign of the thing invented is transferred to signify the inventor; and there is apparently

^a What a deplorable picture does this present of the religious creed of the wretched Egyptians. They did not look up to one God as a tender and merciful parent, but they lived in constant dread of a whole set of frightful demons, whose principal attribute they considered to be that of exercising their power as *executioners*.

simplification of figure. However, of this last point we cannot be certain, as we do not exactly know the shape of the ancient Egyptian plough. I shall close my review of this part of Clemens's description, with the remark, that of the three methods of using hieroglyphs in the symbolic or ideagraphic branch of the art, the *tropic* one was by far the most extensive. For hieroglyphic writing of the *pictural* kind could not be formed without some tropics in it, and we shall presently see that they were also employed in the *enigmatic* kind: but it has been just proved, from the testimony of Clemens, confirmed by our own observation, as far as it can be applied to the subject, that all writing of the tropic species consisted solely and exclusively of characters tropically used.

Τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνιγμοὺς τρίτου εἶδους, δείγμα ἔστω τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξήν, ὅφρων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον· τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον, τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου· κ.τ.λ.] Here it is to be observed, that although Clemens is treating of the enigmatic species of *writing*, yet the examples he gives are merely those of detached characters; which shows that the *ἀνιγμα*, whatever meaning he attached to the word, did not depend upon any obscurity in the connexion between the parts of a sentence, but on the signification of the separate parts. Another passage of the *Stromata*, to which I shall presently come, will, I expect, afford some further elucidation of the matter.

I shall conclude what I have for the present to remark on Clemens's account of the different kinds of hieroglyphic writing, by giving Dr. Warburton's division of the same subject. This affords me another opportunity of showing with what extreme carelessness and inaccuracy he considered the matter, and to what very little authority his opinion on it is entitled. He here makes distinctions without a difference, and violates the definition, which he had himself given in another place, of the term *Curio-logic*. His words are as follows: "But the inconveniences attending the too great bulk of the volume in writings of this

kind, [consisting of simple pictures of things,] would soon set the more ingenious and better civilized people upon contriving methods to abridge their characters : and of all the improvements of this kind, that which was invented by the Egyptians, and called *Hieroglyphics*, was by far the most celebrated. By this contrivance, that writing, which amongst the Mexicans was only a simple painting, became in Egypt a pictural character. This abridgment was of three kinds ; and, as appears from the more or less art employed in the contrivance of each, made by due degrees ; and at three different periods. 1. The first way was, *to make the principal circumstance in the subject stand for the whole*. Thus, when they would describe a battle, or two armies in array, they painted (as we learn from that admirable fragment of antiquity, the hieroglyphics of Horapollo) *two hands, one holding a shield, and the other a bow* ; when a tumult, or popular insurrection,—*an armed man casting arrows* ; when a siege,—*a scaling ladder*. This was of the utmost simplicity ; and, consequently, we must suppose it the earliest way of turning painting into an hieroglyphic ; that is, making it a picture-character. And this is what we shall hereafter distinguish by the name of CURIOLGIC HIEROGLYPHIC. 2. The second, and more artful method of contraction, was, by *putting the instrument of the thing, whether real or metaphorical, for the thing itself*. Thus an *eye*, eminently placed, was designed to represent God's omniscience ; an *eye and sceptre*, to represent a monarch ; a *sword*, their cruel tyrant Ochus ; and a *ship and pilot*, the governor of the universe. And this is what we shall call the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC. 3. Their third, and still more artificial method of abridging picture-writing, was, *by making one thing to stand for, or represent another, where any quaint resemblance or analogy, in the representative, could be collected from their observations of nature, or their traditional superstitions*. And this was their SYMBOLIC HIEROGLYPHIC."—pp. 120, 121.

Now, in his translation of the celebrated passage of Clemens, p. 142, he very justly paraphrases *curiologic* by the words

“plain and common way,” and again, “plain and direct;” which evidently imply the being “devoid of all figure;” and yet he here gives the title of *curiologic* to the very decided figure by which part of a subject is made to represent the whole. Again, it is evident that the relation of part to the whole, or of the instrument of a thing to the thing itself, are analogies; and, consequently, when a *scaling ladder* is made to denote a *siege*, under the first head of the division; or an *eye* to denote *omni-science*, under the second; it may be said of these instances, as well as of any that could be produced under the third head, that “*one thing is made to stand for, or represent another, on account of some quaint resemblance or analogy.*” In fact then, notwithstanding the appearance of a distribution, he here gives only one kind of hieroglyphic writing, namely the *tropic* species of the symbolic or ideagraphic branch of that art. Why he should leave out the *pictural* (or direct mimetic) species, and suppose (contrary to the evidence of Clemens) that none of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing was pictural,^a I cannot divine. But his keeping in the back ground the *enigmatic* species, and withdrawing it from view in his introductory division of the subject, can be easily accounted for; because one great object of his essay was to prove (in opposition, as I shall presently show, to the express testimony of Clemens), that none of the hieroglyphic writing was originally intended for the purposes of mystery and concealment. He afterwards makes other

^a Indeed he here goes a great deal farther, for as throughout the extract he makes an indiscriminate use of the terms *writing* and *characters*, his words intimate that among the Egyptian hieroglyphs there were no pictural *characters*. But on this point he is contradicted, not merely by Clemens, but also by a vast multitude of hieroglyphic inscriptions now extant. Still farther, as he made no distinction between pictural characters and mimetics at large, comprising them both indiscriminately under his denomination of pictures, he by excluding these pictures from being hieroglyphs, unwarrantably dropped out of the catalogue a class of characters, which are found yet more frequently in hieroglyphic legends than the pictural ones, namely, the mimetic tropics.

divisions of Egyptian writing, inconsistent with this one ; and, like this, inconsistent with themselves : but it would be tedious to carry the reader further through such a maze of perplexity and confusion.

Ἀντίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλουμένην· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ἹΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, ἣν χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ἹΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ·] Having gone through Clemens's description of the principal kind of Egyptian writing, I now revert to the commencement of the passage, in which he barely mentions two other kinds, without entering into any particular explanation about them. The best commentary I can give on this part of the passage is Dr. Young's account of the two kinds, which I shall transcribe in his own words.

“ The question, however, respecting the nature of the ENCHORIAL character [the writing formed of this character constitutes the middle part of the Rosetta inscription, and is by all admitted to be the same as that called Epistolographic by Clemens] appears to be satisfactorily decided by a comparison of various manuscripts on papyrus, still extant, with each other. Several of these, published in the great *Description de l'Egypte*, have always been considered as specimens of the alphabetical writing of the Egyptians, and certainly have as little appearance of being imitations of visible objects, as any of the characters of this inscription, or as the old Arabic or Syriac characters, to which they bear, at first sight, a considerable resemblance. But they are generally accompanied by tablets, or delineations of certain scenes, consisting of a few visible objects, either detached or placed in certain intelligible relations to each other ; and we may generally discover traces of some of these objects, among the characters of the text that accompanies them. A similar correspondence between the text and the tablets is still more readily observed in other manuscripts, written in distinct hieroglyphics, slightly yet not inelegantly traced, in a hand which

appears to have been denoted by the term *HIERATIC*; and by comparing with each other such parts of the text of these manuscripts as stand under tablets of the same kind, we discover, upon a very minute examination, that every character of the distinct hieroglyphics has its corresponding trace in the running hand; sometimes a mere dash or line, but often perfectly distinguishable, as a coarse copy of the original delineation, and always alike when it answers to the same character. The particular passages which establish this identity, extending to a series of above ten thousand characters, have been enumerated in the *Museum Criticum*; they have been copied in adjoining lines, and carefully collated with each other; and their number has been increased by a comparison with some yet unpublished rolls of papyrus lately brought from Egypt. A few specimens from different MSS. will be sufficient to show the forms through which the original representation has passed, in its degradation from the *sacred* character, through the *hieratic*, into the *epistolographic* or common running hand of the country."—*Supp. of Enc. Brit.* article *Egypt*, p. 54. He then proceeds to account for a correspondence between the hieroglyphic and enchorial characters not being as observable in the Rosetta inscription as in the enchorial MSS.: "It seems at first sight incomprehensible that this coincidence, or rather correspondence, should not be equally observable in the two inscriptions of the Rosetta stone, which, if the enchorial character is merely a degradation of the sacred, must naturally be supposed to be as much alike as those of the different manuscripts in question, while in reality we can but seldom trace any very striking analogy between them. But the enchorial character having been long used in rapid writing, and for the ordinary purposes of life, appears to have become so indistinct in its forms, that it was often necessary to add to it some epithet or synonyme serving to mark the object more distinctly."—*Ubi supra*. It might be here added, that as the Greek part of the Rosetta inscription is certainly not an exact translation of the hieroglyphic part; or, to express myself more accurately, as the Greek is not word

for word the same as the train of expressions which would be used by a person reading out the hieroglyphs in Greek with a strict reference to every character among them ; so, in like manner, it is very probable that there is not an exact correspondence between the two ideagraphic parts of that inscription. This analogical inference is confirmed by the very remarkable difference which Dr. Young found between the conclusions of the two parts, for though the difference is not, as I think I shall be able to show, so great as he imagined, still it is quite sufficient to establish the inference in question. But if the trains of thought expressed in the two parts be not exactly the same, it is no wonder that such a correspondence between the characters cannot be traced as is found in the instance of the Enchorial MSS. above mentioned. Still some close resemblances can be observed ; for instance, the serpent expressing eternity is in the outline just the same in the sacred and enchorial characters ; and perhaps I may be able to point out the derivation of the latter set of signs from the former in a few other instances where the resemblance is not so striking, and where, in consequence, the connexion has been hitherto unnoticed.

The correctness of Dr. Young's view of the nature of the Epistolographic and Hieratic methods, is now very generally admitted, and I should not have touched upon the question if I had not found that some corroboration of his decision upon it might be deduced from the passage itself of Clemens. In this it may be observed, 1. that the author does not give any description of either of the methods under consideration ; and, 2. that he calls the hieroglyphic one, as compared with them, the finished or complete method. Now, from this latter circumstance it follows, that they could not, either of them, have been alphabetical ; for if they were, Clemens would never have denominated this hieroglyphic method a complete one in reference to them : he himself made use of alphabetical writing, and could not be ignorant of its vast superiority over any ideagraphic system whatever. Again, from the former circumstance, I conceive, it equally follows, that the two kinds must have been

essentially of the same nature as the hieroglyphic method. For if they were not, it would be quite unaccountable, why Clemens should omit to describe them in a passage in which he professes to give a distinct explanation of all the different kinds of Egyptian writing. But suppose them to have been mere successive copyings or running hand imitations—the hieratic of the hieroglyphic, and the epistolographic again of the hieratic,—and then all difficulty as to the reason of the omission is removed. Clemens, by detailing the several varieties of the perfect model, told, at the same time, all that could be found in the inferior imitations; and the enumerating those varieties over again would have been superfluous. In one respect indeed Doctor Young's representation of the matter appears to be at variance with the account transmitted to us by the Alexandrian presbyter: for as an original is older than its copies, the hieroglyphic method must, according to Dr. Young, have been the first of the three; whereas Clemens speaks of it as the last. But there is no real inconsistency in this, because the author is here treating of the three methods, not in the order in which they were invented, but in that in which they were taught; and it was very natural for the Egyptians to learn the last of these methods first; because it was the one in which they had most concern, as being employed by them in their familiar intercourse respecting the ordinary transactions of life. On the whole then, the passage in no way opposes the decision of Dr. Young, while, on the other hand, it corroborates it in two ways, that is, both positively and negatively; by showing, as to the Hieratic and Epistolographic methods, with a high degree of probability, in the first place, that they *are* of a hieroglyphic nature, and, in the second, that they *are not* of an alphabetic one.

As a resemblance to external visible objects can be observed less in the *hieratic* characters than in the *hieroglyphic*, and still less in the *epistolographic* or *enchorial* than in the *hieratic*; this fact confirms my former assertion, that in the Egyptian, as well as in every other writing of human invention, a *tendency* towards arbitrary characters may be traced. The Egyptians

did not, as Dr. Warburton supposed, revert from arbitrary marks to dwell principally on images of things ; for their latest ideagraphic writing, and that in most common use among them, was the most arbitrary of the three kinds. They certainly retained the use of the least arbitrary sort to the very last ; but this did not, as I conceive, arise so much from any thing peculiar in the genius of the people, as from causes already assigned, which probably would have operated in a similar manner upon any other people similarly placed.

Before the archeographic discoveries of the present century all European writers were unanimous in deciding, that the *Epistolographic* method was an alphabetic one. Men, themselves accustomed to the use of letters, concluded that no other characters could answer for ordinary familiar communication in Egypt ; not making any allowance for the particular circumstances of that country, but arguing on pretty much the same principles as those, by which a poor African comes to the decision, that every face which is handsome must be black. Had the Chinese known any thing about the passage of Clemens, they probably would, upon equally fallacious reasoning, have arrived at a right conclusion on the subject. With respect to the nature of the *Hieratic* method, there was greater uncertainty, and less agreement of opinion. The truly venerable and learned Bishop Walton, who knew nearly all that was known in his day of ancient languages and ancient writing, candidly admitted his ignorance on this point, and in the Prolegomena of his Polyglot, published in 1657, expressed himself in the following terms : “ Quomodo vero literæ Sacerdotales ab Epistolaribus discriminentur, an aliud habuerint alphabetum, an symbolis constarent ut Hieroglyphicæ ; et quomodo singulas ab aliis distinguarent, nondum satis ex ejus [i. e. Clementis] verbis colligitur.”—p. 9. In 1735, Du Halde broached the opinion, that the characters employed in this writing were *musical notes* ; or perhaps he merely mentioned them as an illustration to show that the characters in question might be quite distinct from both hieroglyphs and letters, without still pretending to specify ex-

actly what they were. The latter construction may, I think, in fairness be put upon his words; but, to enable the reader to judge for himself, I here subjoin the passage: “Comme Clement d’Alexandrie attribué aux Egyptiens, trois sortes de caracteres, les premiers qu’il nomme Epistolographiques, c’est-à-dire, propres à écrire des lettres, comme sont ceux de notre alphabet; les autres Sacerdotaux, propres seulement à des Prêtres, pour écrire les choses sacrées, de même qu’il y a des notes pour la Musique; et les derniers Hiéroglyphiques, propres à être gravez sur les monumens publics.”—tom. ii. p. 227. Five years after Dr. Warburton published his Essay on Hieroglyphs, in which he confidently maintained that the characters employed in the Hieratic method, as well as in the Epistolographic one, belonged to the class of alphabetic letters; and he very ingeniously, but grossly, perverted the meaning of Clemens, in order to make out the Christian Father a supporter of this position. The argument is worth consulting as a specimen of ingenious sophistry, but at the same time it serves to show that no dependance is to be placed on the Bishop’s judgment on any point that interfered with his preconceived opinions. The critique to which I allude, is contained in the following extract from his work:

“ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ, συμβολική· the Latin translator turns thus, *cujus una quidem est per prima elementa κυριολογική, id est, proprie loquens; altera vero symbolica, id est, per signa significans.* This is so faithfully translated, that it preserves the very ambiguity of the original, and leaves us still to guess at the author’s division. Marsham takes it just wrong; and so does his nephew Stanley; the first of these learned men quotes and translates the passage thus: *Triplex erat apud Ægyptios characterum ratio, Ἐπιστολογραφική, ad scribendas epistolas apta, sive vulgaris; Ἱερατική, qua utuntur Ἱερογραμματεῖς, qui de rebus sacris scribunt; et Ἱερογλυφική, sacra sculptura: Hujus duæ sunt species, Κυριολογική, proprie loquens per elementa prima; et*

Συμβολική, *per signa*. The second thus, — *the last and most perfect*, hieroglyphical; WHEREOF *one is* curiologic, *the other* symbolic. By this interpretation the learned father is, 1. made to enumerate three kinds of writing, but to explain only the last, namely, *hieroglyphics*; 2. which is worse, he is made to say, one kind of hieroglyphics was by letters of an alphabet; for that is the meaning of *διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων*; 3. which is still worse, he is made to divide hieroglyphics into two sorts, *curiologic* and *symbolic*; and symbolic into three sorts, *curiologic*, *tropical*, and *allegorical*; which makes the prior division into curiologic and symbolic, inaccurate and absurd; and spreads a general confusion over the whole passage. Their mistake seems to have arisen from supposing *μεθόδου ἱερογλυφικῆς* (the *immediate antecedent*) was understood at *ἧς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ*; whereas it was the more *remote antecedent*, *μεθόδου Ἀιγυπτίων γραμμάτων*; and what made them suppose this was, I presume, the author's expressing the common plain way of writing by letters of an alphabet, and the common plain way of imitating by figures (two very different things) by the same words, *κυριολογική* and *κυριολογεῖται*; not considering that *διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων*, joined to the adjective, signified writing by letters; and, *κατὰ μίμησιν*, joined to the verb, signified *writing by figures*. In a word then, the plain and easy meaning of Clemens is this,—*The Egyptian method of writing was epistolic, sacerdotal, and hieroglyphical: of this method, the epistolic and sacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet; the hieroglyphical, by symbols: symbols were of three kinds, curiologic, tropical, and allegorical.*—Note (II) pp. 401, 402.

Now, independently of the forcedness of the construction which would pass by the immediate antecedent in order to refer the relative to a remote one, there are two insurmountable objections to this translation. In the first place, there is no such remote antecedent at all in the original as that adduced by the Bishop: there is not in the Greek sentence a single word about the general method of the Egyptians; but the first method men-

tioned in it is the Epistolographic, then the Hieratic, and then the Hieroglyphic. In the second place, he translates, ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ, of which [general] method the Epistolographic and Sacerdotal were, &c.; that is, he makes two of the methods to be expressed by the relative ἡ in the singular number; and thus he refers the first word of this short sentence to an antecedent that does not exist, and the second to one with which it could not possibly agree. Certainly Dr. Warburton must have had great confidence in the laziness of his readers, when he supposed that such perversion of the Greek could escape detection. It is impossible he could have made this gross mistranslation unintentionally through ignorance, for he was an expert Greek scholar; and all that can be said in palliation of his conduct is, that he put forward the misrepresentation with the view of establishing, through its means, what he had preconceived to be the truth. This, it must be allowed, is a very lame excuse for him, but the case, I am sorry to say, admits of no better. With respect to the three objections made by him against the commonly received version of the sentence, they have been all of them already answered; the first, by anticipation, in this chapter; the second, by Dr. Young's discovery; and the third, by the Bishop himself in the remainder of the note that has been just quoted. For if the two *curiologics*, by means of the qualifications respectively adjoined to them, express "two very different things," there can be no inaccuracy or absurdity in their being made members of different divisions. He himself brings forward this very reason to answer any objection against their being classed under different methods; and it surely just as strongly removes his own objection against their being ranked under different subdivisions of the same method.

The second of his objections deserves attention, because it not only affords his own direct testimony against his having discovered the phonetic use of hieroglyphs made by the ancient Egyptians, but also shows that he considered the very idea of such a use of them absurd, to such a degree, that when the discovery was suggested to him by the words of Clemens, he abso-

lutely perverted the meaning of those words, in order to get rid of the suggestion. And yet several of the popular works of the present day teem with his praises on account of this very discovery, and dilate upon the profound judgment and admirable sagacity which he displayed in making it. Indeed the authors of these works would have us believe that his penetration reached not only to what is now actually known upon the subject, but a great deal farther; and that he discerned the hieroglyphic texts of the Egyptians to be wholly phonetic, so as to constitute a written language, which is more than any one else has been since able to prove. To show to what an extent these writers impose upon themselves and on the public, I subjoin an extract from one of their works, which, I believe, is generally conducted with ability, and stands high among the periodical publications. In the article of the Edinburgh Review to which I have already referred, and which has been extensively read on the Continent, as well as here, the Reviewer gives us the following information :

“ But the cabalistical reveries of Kircher failed to impose on the strong sense and powerful intellect of Bishop Warburton. In his celebrated work, the ‘The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated,’ that learned prelate has discussed, with consummate scholarship, the different ancient texts relative to the Egyptian modes of writing; distinguished theoretically, the several sorts of characters employed; and *made the important observation, now completely verified, that the hieroglyphics, or sacred characters, were not so denominated, as being exclusively appropriated to sacred subjects, but that they constituted a real written language, applicable to the purposes of history and common life, as well as those of religion and mythology.* He was undoubtedly mistaken in concluding that each of the three sorts of characters, mentioned by Clemens, formed a distinct and separate system of writing; but, as he confined himself exclusively to such general inferences as the ancient authorities seemed to warrant, without attempting to verify his deductions by a direct application to the Egyptian monuments

then existing in Europe, his error in this respect is venial, and calculated, in no degree, to lessen *our admiration of the sagacity which led him to divine a truth so far beyond the reach of an ordinary mind.* Had Warburton's profound remark been prosecuted to its consequences, the 'quæstio vexata' of the Egyptian hieroglyphics would probably have been resolved half a century earlier."—p. 107. And a little farther on: "A very cursory inspection of the pillar of Rosetta was sufficient to establish, as incontrovertible, Bishop Warburton's *profound observation*, already noticed, *that the hieroglyphics constituted a real written language.*"—p. 111.

The same error, committed in such direct opposition to the real state of the case, may be found in still later publications, though the matter is perhaps not so forcibly or so fully insisted upon as in the above extract. The mistatement seems to have been transmitted from one popular writer to another, just as a forged bank note sometimes passes current through a number of hands without detection. But although I have exposed the forgery, I have not the least wish to hang the Reviewer: the probability is, that he took the note himself from some one else, and that his fault consisted only in vouching for its goodness without sufficient examination, and in promoting the circulation of bad paper by some additions to its embellishment.

As Kircher has been mentioned in the quotation just given, I take this opportunity of observing, that he has not been fairly dealt with by subsequent authors. I am as little disposed as any one else to defend his reveries; but how few writers on this subject have been free from reverie? At all events Dr. Warburton had no right to speak of him as he has done in the following passage: "and here Kircher's visionary labours on this subject might have been pitied, had he discovered, in any of his voluminous writings on hieroglyphics, the least regard to truth or probability."—p. 147. This censure surely came with a bad grace from one who himself indulged in visionary assumptions, as well as the jesuit, and whose mode of defending what he fancied to be the truth was just as objectionable. I must

here add, that, in comparing these two authors, as far as their writings bear upon a common subject, the fashion of the present day is to give a very undue preference to the Bishop. The point above considered will serve to show this; and affords a fair opportunity of directly contrasting their relative merits. Kircher actually hit upon the true meaning of Clemens as to the point which has been under discussion, and drew from it the inference, that some hieroglyphs were employed with alphabetic powers; which powers, he then proceeded to assume, must be determined by a resemblance in the outline of the zoographic characters to the shape of the Greek letters; and he very ingeniously constructed on this principle the alphabet which is exhibited in *Obel. Pam.* lib. ii. cap. 6. Here then, as far as they had common *data* to proceed upon, Kircher *went right* at first, and subsequently erred by trusting to his ingenuity alone for making out his way further. But the Bishop, with the same *data*, *went wrong* from the very outset, and exercised all his ingenuity afterwards in justifying his deviation from the right path.

I now proceed to give from the *Stromata* the enigmatic sentence to which I have already alluded; it is as follows: “Ναὶ μὲν καὶ ἐν Διοσπόλει τῆς Ἀιγύπτου, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλουμένου Πυλῶνος, διατετύπεται παιδίον μὲν, γενέσεως σύμβολον· φθορᾶς δὲ, ὁ γέρων· Θεοῦ τε αὖ, ὁ ἰέραξ· ὡς ὁ ἰχθὺς, μίσους· καὶ, κατ’ ἄλλο πάλιν σημαινόμενον, ὁ κροκόδειλος, ἀναιδείας. Φαίνεται τοίνυν συντιθέμενον τὸ πᾶν σύμβολον, δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ δεῖν ὧ γινόμενοι καὶ ἀπογινόμενοι, Θεὸς μισεῖ ἀναίδειαν.” — *Strom.* lib. v. p. 413. Ed. Heinsii.

“Moreover, indeed, also in Diospolis of Egypt, on the temple called Pylon, is delineated, by insculptures, a boy, the emblem of birth; and an old man, that of death; and again, a hawk, the emblem of God; likewise a fish, that of hatred; and a crocodile, by still another signification [Clemens had just before given two different significations of this symbol, 1. the sun, 2. time], that of impudence. The entire emblematic sentence then, put together, seems to be expressive of this mean-

ing: O you who are born, and you who die, God hates impudence."

The legend here presented to the reader's notice is very remarkable for the bare nakedness of the symbols, and the total absence of all modifying or connecting signs. This cannot be accounted for by the enigmatic nature of the sentence; for the *ἀνιγμα* depended, as has been already proved, on something relating to the separate detached symbols, and not at all upon any obscurity in their connexion. The peculiarity, therefore, now under consideration can be attributed solely to the very imperfect state of the art at the time when the inscription was originally made, and points out a limit for its date of no great distance from the commencement of writing in Egypt. If we compare the inscription on the Rosetta stone with this one, the contrast will be found very striking. In the former the plural number is marked by the delineation of a figure three times, or by the figure once inserted, with three short lines after it; the verb appears to be distinguished from the noun by a natural instrument and representative of action, some limb of the human body; and the number of auxiliary signs serving to modify and connect the leading thoughts is so great, that the metaphysician has not yet been able, even with the help of the Greek part of the inscription, to unravel their contexture, and fix the precise use and power of each:^a all that is known with any degree of probability about them is, that they are subordinate, not leading signs, which seems obvious from the frequency of their occurrence. But in the text before us there is not a single sign of the kind; so that even supposing the reader had discovered the meaning of all the separate symbols (which an uninitiated person never could have done, as long as the system of the priests re-

^a The want of success hitherto in the efforts to ascertain the precise power and signification of each of the hieroglyphs in the Rosetta inscription, cannot be brought as an argument against the ideagraphic theory, in the same manner as it can against the phonetic one; because the metaphysical investigation has been discontinued since the time of Young.

mained in full vigour), and had ascertained that they denoted *boyhood, old age, divinity, hatred, impudence*; he had yet a most embarrassing difficulty to encounter. For it would, in addition, be requisite to make out the modification and connexion of the ideas which were thus thrown naked before him; and in order to read out the legend, it was necessary for him to settle which of those ideas he would express by nouns, and which by verbs; then to determine, with respect to the former words, whether they should be abstract or concrete, substantive or adjective, singular or plural; and, in reference to the latter, what was to be the voice, mood, tense, number, person, &c. Thus, for instance, he might have taken the verb of his sentence from the third idea as well as from the fourth, and have read the legend as follows: "All men, young as well as old, should pay worship or respect to the hatred of impudence; or, all are rendered divine by such hatred." It is evident that the variety of forms in which the expression of the sentence might be thus put, is very great; still, however, one common meaning, comprising the censure of impudence, will be found loosely to pervade most of the forms; and farther than ascertaining this vague general purport of the legend, the ancient reader could not have gone. Even Clemens himself did not pretend to limit the reading of the text to one precise determinate form; and although he pronounced with certainty on the meaning of the separate symbols, he only gave his opinion [*φαίνεται*] as to that of the sentence. Now if we put out of view the enigmatism of the legend, and confine our attention to the difficulty I have been just describing, which arose solely out of the antiquity of the writing, it will enable us to form some notion of the great vagueness and obscurity of the earlier graphic productions of the Egyptians.

I now turn to the more immediate object for which I produced this sentence. Here a confirmation is presented to us of an observation before made, that in order to a legend being enigmatic it was not necessary that throughout, or in all its parts, it should be so; for in the example before us the first two

symbols are mimetic tropics, and the third a metaphoric one; so that only two, out of the five, remain to be denominated enigmatic. What their enigmatism consisted in, we shall be assisted to determine by considering the remarks with which Clemens prefaced his example. In these he expressly declared that the enigmatic style was employed by the Egyptians for the purpose of *concealment*—ἐπίκρυψιν—“for they did not intrust their mysteries indiscriminately to every one that came in their way, nor commit the knowledge of divine affairs to the uninitiated, but solely to those who were to be advanced to the throne, and to those of the priests who were most approved of, both from education and from learning, and from nobleness of birth.” [He added, that there was a similiar design of concealment in part of the Hebrew Scriptures; but what he exactly meant by this comparison, it would be going out of the way of the present discussion to investigate, as he is here consulted only for his knowledge of facts connected with Egyptian writing, and not for his opinions about the Bible.] The words of the original are as follows: “ὅθεν καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀνετίθεντο μυστήρια, οὐδὲ μὴν βεβήλοις τὴν τῶν θείων εἰδησιν ἐξέφερον, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνοις γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν προΐεναι· καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κριθεῖσιν εἶναι δοκιμωτάτοις, ἀπὸ τε τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ τῆς παιδείας, καὶ τοῦ γένους. Ὅμοια γοῦν τοῖς Ἑβραικοῖς, κατὰ γε τὴν ἐπίκρυψιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἀνίγματα.”—Ed. Heinsii, *ubi supra*. From this information respecting the nature of enigmatic writing, compared with the definition which Clemens gave of it in the first passage quoted from him (namely, that it—ἀλληγορεῖται—says one thing and means another); it follows, that every enigmatic character must have had at least two significations; the one in general use, the other privately annexed to it by agreement among the priests: and thus the symbol might be said openly to express the former signification, and secretly to mean the latter. In confirmation of this explanation, it may be observed, that when Clemens

mentions an enigmatic character he generally gives more meanings than one for it: it is true he only assigned one for each of the two examples he gave of his definition; but he may have looked on their common meanings as so notorious that it would have been superfluous to add them. The ordinary signification of the beetle, according to Horapollo, was "the world;" and that of the serpent is clearly known to have been "eternity;" for in the whole of the Rosetta inscription no leading character appears in commoner use than the serpent with this meaning. Now if the tropic and enigmatic significations of the last symbol be compared (that is, eternity and the planets), it will be found that the former is far the more abstruse one, and founded on the more abstruse analogy. The nature then of the Egyptian enigma did not at all consist in the meaning of the symbol being difficult either in itself or in its dependance on a far-fetched allusion, but merely in the circumstance of its originating in the agreement of a few individuals, and of its being kept secret by them from the multitude. It was only necessary that the allusion should be so far remote in reference to the apprehension of an Egyptian, as that the signification should depend upon arbitrary convention, and not be obvious to him on the mere view of the character. And here a farther confirmation is had of what I before stated; that it is impossible for us now to determine, by our own observation, whether a character in any inscription be tropically or enigmatically used, even when we know the meaning therein annexed to it: for in order to ascertain that it was in this instance enigmatic, we should still further know, that it had another meaning among the Egyptians, and that this other was the one in common ordinary use.

With respect to the remarks with which Clemens prefaced his example of an enigmatic sentence, it is to be observed, that, as far as the Egyptian writing is concerned, they present to us, not the mere expression of an opinion, but positive testimony as to a fact, given with all the accuracy of circumstantial detail, by one who was perhaps the most competent witness we could have on the subject. He lived in the country of hieroglyphs, and in

the age when still the art of writing with them had not entirely gone out of use;^a so that he had opportunities of information which no author subsequent to him ever enjoyed; for the knowledge of this art appears to have expired almost immediately after the practice of it had ceased. Of his ability to avail himself of the opportunities which lay in his way, there can be no question; neither is there the slightest imputation on his veracity. When, therefore, we consider the intrinsic marks of antiquity in the legend, which he brought forward as an instance of Egyptian writing employed with the express design of concealment; can there be any reasonable doubt of such design having existed among the priests of Egypt, and of its having been put in execution by them from the earliest ages of their hieroglyphic art? And yet, strange to say, Dr. Warburton produced the very same legend to prove, that all the earlier hieroglyphs were employed for the purpose of plain and open communication. The following are his words: "The Egyptians, therefore, employed, as we say, the *proper hieroglyphics*^b to record, openly and plainly, their laws, policies, public morals, and history; and, in a word, all kinds of civil matters."—p. 145. Of this tenet his second illustration is thus given: "This is further seen from that celebrated inscription on the temple of

^a The names of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt and of the earlier Roman emperors have been discovered, nearly to a certainty, written in hieroglyphic characters employed with phonetic powers. The latest name, ascertained to be thus expressed, is that of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, which brings down the use of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt to A. D. 161; and Clemens must have been born at this time, or not very long after.

^b By the proper hieroglyphs, he here means all the earlier ones; for, by a very arbitrary division (in which he violates that given by Clemens, and also confounds the ordinary meaning of the term symbol) he distinguishes hieroglyphs into two kinds, the *proper* and the *symbolic*; comprehending under the first class all the older ones; and under the second, those of later date—pp. 148, 149. The object of all this confusion it would be easy to show, but it is not worth dwelling upon: I shall merely observe, that changing the commonly received signification of words may disguise a subject, but cannot change the nature of things.

Minerva at Saïs, so much spoken of by the ancients; where an infant, an old man, a hawk, a fish, and a river-horse, expressed this moral sentence, *All you who come into the world, and go out of it, know this, that the gods hate impudence.*—p. 147. He does not indeed quote this legend from Clemens, for the preamble with which the ancient presbyter introduced it, would not have answered his purpose; but there can be no question about its identity, notwithstanding its being described with a little variety of circumstance; which may be accounted for, probably, by its having been inscribed in more places than one, or possibly by the desire of some later writer, who took it from Clemens, to conceal his plagiarism.^a Now on this point, upon which there is a direct contradiction between the Alexandrian and the Englishman, what is there to balance against the integrity, the learning, and the local knowledge of the former author? Does Dr. Warburton bring forward any counter-testimony to rebut the evidence of Clemens? No. Does he show any thing in this evidence, considered by itself, that would render it suspicious or doubtful? No. What have we then in support of his adverse position? Simply, that the inscription (to use his own words) “was a very plain and important truth, to be read and understood by the people; as appears from the place where it was engraved, the vestibule of a public temple.”—p. 147. A very convincing reason this, and quite sufficient to overturn the testimony of Clemens! Upon the same grounds it may, I suppose, be hereafter justly concluded that, *once upon a time*, Greek was read and understood by all the people of Dublin, in consequence of the Greek inscription so conspicuously placed over the entrance into one of its parochial churches.

The Bishop, in the passage which I have just quoted from

^a The former of these suppositions appears to be the true one; as a description of the legend, agreeing to that given by the Bishop, occurs in Plutarch's treatise on *Isis* and *Osiris*: it is found there with the interpretation of the separate characters, but without that of the entire sentence.

his treatise, confounded two very distinct things, the *writing* of the inscription, and the *meaning* of it. The former might be excessively difficult, and yet the latter, when arrived at, be found quite simple. In the example under consideration, the hidden truth, when uncovered, comes out as plain and simple as possible; while, on the other hand, the correct reading of the inscription was entirely out of the reach of persons not initiated in the secret meaning of the last two symbols. Even Clemens was not confident that he had given the exact rendering of it; though, as he had ascertained the signification of the separate symbols, his difficulty had not so much reference to the general purport of the whole sentence, as to the particular form in which he should put the expression of it. As to the importance which Dr. Warburton attached to the truth elicited from the inscription, I confess I cannot perceive it. The sentence appears to me to be little more than a mere truism; and, as I conceive, it affords a striking specimen of the worthlessness of the wisdom of the Egyptian priests. They contrived to excite the admiration of the stupid multitude, not by true learning, but by the false appearance of it; by cloaking their ignorance under the mysterious cover of writing which was illegible to the public: and their conduct in this respect exhibits a very remarkable correspondence to that of the Mandarins in China at the present moment, of which some account shall be given in the next chapter.

Here it may be worth observing, that there is reason to suspect that the peculiar language of the Egyptian priests matched their enigmatic writing in the mode of its formation, and consequently in the purposes to which it was applied. I cannot speak on this point with certainty, because there are so few allusions to the *sacred language* of Egypt in the works of ancient authors; and there is not in any of them, as far as I can find, a direct description of it. The last mentioned circumstance, however, is in accordance with my suspicion; and Manetho, who was himself a priest, and consequently acquainted with this language, incidentally lets transpire enough, as I conceive, to show,

with some degree of probability, what its true nature was. Josephus accounts for the ambiguity of HYCSOS, which denoted either *Shepherd King* or *Shepherd Captive*, in giving an extract from the historic work of this writer; from which, combined with his own statement, it may be collected, that, while Sos was the Egyptian for *Shepherd*, Hyc signified *King* in the sacred tongue, and *Captive* in the common language. The whole passage is as follows: “ ‘ Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν ‘ αὐτῶν ἔθνος ΥΚΣΩΣ, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεῖς ποιμένες. Τὸ ‘ γὰρ ΥΚ καθ’ ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ΣΩΣ ‘ ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ ‘ οὕτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται ΥΚΣΩΣ. Τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι αὐ- ‘ τοὺς Αραβας εἶναι.’ Ἐν δ’ ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ ΥΚΣΩΣ προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τού- ναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας. Τὸ γὰρ ΥΚ πάλιν Ἀιγυπτιαστὶ, καὶ τὸ ΑΚ δασυνόμενον, αἰχμαλώτους ῥητῶς μηνύει.”^a—Liber i. contra Apionem, sec. 14.

“ ‘ But their entire nation were called HYCSOS, that is, ‘ *King Shepherds*. For Hyc in the sacred tongue signifies ‘ *King*; while SOS, in the common language, is *Shepherd* or ‘ *Shepherds*; and thus put together is made out the compound ‘ word HYCSOS. But some say that they were Arabians.’ In another copy of his work I have found it stated, that by the appellation of HYCSOS was signified, not *King Shepherds*, but, on the contrary, *Captive Shepherds*. The ground for which interpretation is, that Hyc, in opposition to its sacred use, does, in the common language of Egypt (as well as AC when aspirated), expressly denote *Captives*.”

Hence it appears that the priests managed with the word before us just as they did with their enigmatic symbols; that is,

^a The final sentence of this passage, by the way, shows that the ancient Egyptians employed aspirations in their language; also that (as is well known through various other means) the Greek marks of aspiration did not come into general use till after the time of Josephus.

they perverted its ordinary meaning, and agreed among themselves to employ it in a sense that would, as long as the secret was kept, be unintelligible to the public. But the practice in which they are thus detected, with respect to one of their words, may well be suspected to have been extended to all, since it is so completely accordant with the policy displayed by them in their peculiar writing. If this conjecture be right, their sacred language was a species of gibbérish, not unlike to that now employed by the Gypsies, with respect to either its general nature or its use.

With respect to Dr. Warburton, as I shall have no farther occasion to refer to his treatise, I now take leave of him with a few remarks. His great learning, especially his extensive acquaintance with the productions of Greek writers, I readily admit; and, though I am very far from assenting to the leading tenet by which he endeavoured to establish “the divine legation of Moses,” yet I must say, that where his judgment was not warped by passion or prejudice, he proved himself a clear and powerful reasoner; and in particular, that the metaphysics of morality are indebted to him for some very judicious observations, in which he has corrected mistakes of even the most able of the ethical writers who preceded him in this branch of science. But that he showed judgment, accuracy, or fairness of reasoning, in his Essay on Hieroglyphs, I deny; and, as the very false notions which now prevail on the subject, are the main support of an error whose removal is important to the progress of this work, I have been forced to substantiate my denial by proof. The employment has afforded me no gratification, but it was absolutely necessary for me to undertake it: however, I trust that I shall be found to have proceeded in the performance of so ungracious a task no further than truth and justice permitted, and the necessity of the case required.

In placing M. Champollion in his true light before the public, I do not feel the same compunction. With ability enough to enable him to be mischievous, this writer endeavoured to sap the foundation of religious belief, by attacking the historic truth

of the Bible; for he pretended to establish, through means of his phonetic system, the correctness of a chronicle which is at variance with the account of time deducible from the Mosaic record, by at least three thousand five hundred years;^a and, whenever the nature of his subject permitted it, he lost no opportunity of throwing out hints against the veracity of the Jewish historian in other matters as well as in chronology. To expose, therefore, the nature of his efforts, in order to defeating them, will, I trust, be considered a useful act; and although it is impossible not to pity the miserable being who could have been capable of pursuing such an object, still the mischief he attempted is not to be allowed to pass without obstruction, merely from a reluctance to subject him to public scorn. He has been convicted, from his own writings, of falsehood—of falsehood for the purpose of robbing another of the exclusive credit of a discovery to which he knew him to be justly entitled. He endeavoured, under false pretences, to suppress a publication which interfered with his dishonest claim; but some copies of it escaped destruction, and have since come out to prove at the same time his falsehood and his dishonesty—admirably fit companions for infidelity. I must however add, that with all these damning qualities he united an industry, a zeal, and an ingenuity, that were worthy of a better cause, and his works are written in a remarkably light, easy, agreeable style. But poison is not the less dangerous because it is varnished over with an agreeable colouring, nor is danger to be disregarded and despised merely because it comes from a reptile.

In offering this plain, undisguised representation of the cha-

^a The chronicle of Manetho (which M. Champollion pretended completely to verify as far back as 1774 B. C.) extended the Egyptian monarchy through thirty dynasties, and made it commence more than five thousand three hundred years before the reign of Alexander the Great, or three thousand three hundred years before the time at which the Bible history would lead us to place the Flood. But the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy can hardly be dated so early as two hundred years after that event.

racter of M. Champollion, I feel that I need make no apology to his countrymen. The French are too honourable and enlightened a people to approve of the above-named vices in any quarter; and have been foremost in exposing and censuring the insincerity and fraud of M. Champollion^a in the instance alluded to. It only remains for me to put his infidelity in a proper point of view, and at the same time to show that the attack made by him on the truth of the Bible has no foundation whatever to rest on.

^a See *Examen Critique* of M. Klaproth, first five pages; also *Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Egypte*, Paris, 1827, Preface, p. xi.; and compare with these statements the following declaration of M. Champollion: "Je dois dire qu'à la même époque [that is, in 1819, when Dr. Young's remarkable essay on hieroglyphs was published], et sans avoir aucune connaissance des opinions de M. le Docteur Young, Je croyais être parvenu, d'une manière assez sûre, à des résultats à-peu-près semblables."—p. 18.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL ARGUMENT AGAINST THE DISCOVERY OF ALPHABETIC WRITING BY MAN, CORROBORATED BY PARTICULAR INSTANCES—ESPECIALLY BY THE CHINESE CASE—BY THE EGYPTIAN CASE—GRAPHIC SYSTEM OF THE EGYPTIANS TO BE MORE MINUTELY EXAMINED, IN ORDER TO REPEL THE ATTACK INDIRECTLY MADE THROUGH IT ON THE HISTORIC TRUTH OF THE BIBLE.

I HAVE already stated, that the general reasoning which has been brought forward against the invention of letters by man, might be sustained by particular observation; and I now proceed to show that such position is corroborated by a variety of considerations, derived from the peculiar circumstances of the several ideagraphic systems which have ever to any extent prevailed in the world. The argument, indeed, which can be drawn from the state of writing in the different countries of the new world, when first visited by Europeans, is, I admit, only of a negative kind; but still, as far as it goes, it carries some weight. If any concurrence of circumstances could ever have proved letters a human invention, the fact would have been established on the discovery of the western continent, had an alphabet been then found in use among the native Americans; for they could not by any possibility have learned it through intercourse with the inhabitants of this side of the globe,^a and there is no reason to think that miraculous communications had been made to them. But although, at the time, writing of different sorts was practised, by the Mexicans, the Peruvians, the savages in some northern districts, and probably by other nations of America,

^a It could not be supposed that they had brought letters with them from the old world on their separation from it, because upon such supposition they must have had some records of that event.

yet no where among them was there detected the slightest trace of letters, or indeed of any phonetic signs whatever. It may be also added, that all vestiges of the kind have been equally wanting in every newly discovered country. Alphabetic writing then has never by actual observation and experiment been proved to have originated from the unaided powers of the mind; and in no instance where its existence would have made such origin in any degree probable, has it ever been met with at all.

The argument, however, which is supplied by a consideration of the Chinese writing, bears more directly on the subject. In their modern books there may be observed a mixed phonetic use of signs, which is described in M. Klaproth's *Examen Critique* as follows: "Les Chinois ont aussi une manière phonétique d'écrire les noms propres, qu'ils entourent souvent d'un cartouche comme les Egyptiens. La seule différence entre leur système phonétique et celui des bords du Nil est que, chez eux, les caractères idéographiques, employés phonétiquement, ne deviennent pas des lettres alphabétiques, mais qu'elles représentent la syllabe entière qu'ils expriment dans leur usage ordinaire."—p. 24. The mode here described of marking that the characters are phonetically used (by surrounding the whole collection of them with a figure, which the French call a cartouche, consisting of two parallel lines joined at each end by semicircles) is very curious, because the Egyptian characters, which Young's discovery proves to have been used in somewhat the same way, are surrounded by just the same figure. However, the Chinese have other modes also, which it is unnecessary here to detail, of pointing out to the reader that certain characters are stripped of their ordinary significations, and transferred to denoting merely the sounds that are in the Chinese language associated with those significations; the sounds thus obtained are found to give the syllables of some foreign name, and the characters, being arranged in the same order as the syllables, are made to represent that name. Now with respect to this innovation on their old system it is to be remarked, 1. that it did not arise till long after

the European trade with them had commenced,^a and is confined to the designation of words not belonging to their own language;^b that it evidently therefore has grown out of foreign intercourse, and is not the offspring of their own invention; 2. that it is employed by them in a manner totally at variance with alphabetic practice, and with that limitation of signs which is essential to an alphabetic system. In fact no two Chinese would select the same group of characters to represent a foreign name; nor is this anomaly likely to be soon removed, as the disadvantages resulting from it are not immediately perceptible to an ideagraphic reader; for he must be acquainted with the signification of all the characters at any rate, on account of his original system, and thence with their phonetic powers on the new plan; consequently any one of the groups by which the foreign name can be expressed, will suggest it to his mind as readily as another. Of the prodigious variety of combinations open for such purpose to the choice of a Chinese writer, some idea may be formed from the following considerations. The characters of his system are generally reckoned to amount to about 80,000^c, while it is as generally agreed that the number

^a It will be presently shown that no phonetic practice began either among the Chinese or the Japanese till within the last hundred years.

^b Though the phonetic employment of signs above described is confined to this purpose; yet an enlargement of the system has already taken place in China, and shall be presently noticed, in which the characters are phonetically applied to quite another purpose.

^c Quorum quidem tantus est numerus, ut hodie è summorum literatorum numero non habeatur, qui ad summum octoginta characterum millium notitiam non possederit; atque adeò, quanto quis plurium literarum cognitionem habuerit, tanto cæteris doctior habeatur.—KIRCHER *Chin. Illus.* pars vi. cap. i.

Les Lettrez ne doivent pas seulement connôître les caracteres qui sont en usage dans le commerce ordinaire de la vie; ils doivent sçavoir encore leurs diverses combinaisons, et les divers arrangemens, qui de plusieurs traits simples, font des caracteres composez; et comme l'on compte jusqu' à quatre vingt mille de ces caracteres, celui qui en sçait le plus, est aussi le plus sçavant: et peut lire et entendre un plus grand nombre de livres: d'ou l'on

of words in his language is extremely small:^a it is not more than three hundred and thirty, according to Du Halde.^b But the fairest way is to compare these words (which are all monosyllables), not with the total amount of characters, but with as many as would be known by one of ordinary proficiency in the art; and this number is by the same author rated at from fifteen to twenty thousand; so that there are, on the average, above fifty characters for every word, and, the distribution not being equable, there must be above a hundred a piece for several of them. If then the words, making up a foreign name of, suppose, three syllables, should be of the latter description, a writer of ordinary skill would have an option, out of above a million of different ways, of writing that name: so strongly is the system of the Chinese adapted in its nature to mark the distinction between their phonetic, and an alphabetic, method of writing, and likewise to render that distinction permanent.

It is hard to say which is more extraordinary, the writing or the language of this extraordinary people. Where the number of words bears so very small a proportion to the thoughts of a speaker, it is evident, that, to enable him to express those thoughts, he must employ many other modifications of voice besides articulation; and accordingly we are informed that the Chinese give great varieties of signification to their three hundred and thirty words, by accentuation, by intonation, by aspiration, and

peut juger, combien il faut d'années, pour connôître une multitude si prodigieuse de caracteres, pour les demeler, quand ils sont réunis, et pour en retenir la figure et la signification.—Le commun des Lettrez n'en sçait guères plus de quinze ou vingt mille; et il y a peu de Docteurs qui soient parvenus jusqu' à en connôître quarante mille.—DU HALDE *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*. tom. ii. p. 226.

^a Est idioma Sinarum valde limitatum; unde quemadmodum multitudine literarum omnes alias Mundi nationes superat, ita quoque vocabulorum paucitate cedit omnibus.—KIRCHERI *Chi. Illus.* pars vi. cap. v.

^b La langue Mandarine——parâit pauvre; car elle n'a guères qu'environ 330 mots, qui sont tous monosyllabes et indeclinables, et qui se terminent presque tous par des voyelles, ou par cette consonne N, ou Ng.—DU HALDE, tom. ii. p. 225.

by other modes of altering the voice.^a The Missionaries observed five changes produced by the first of these means alone; thus, for instance, the word *ya*, according to the different accents with which it is pronounced, signifies *god*, *dumb*, *excellent*, *stupidity*, *goose*. As to the varieties of intonation they are probably still more numerous, for the Chinese appear to chant or sing their words rather than to speak them. Hence it follows, that, even if they had a perfect alphabet to denote the words of their language, this would not be sufficient to denote the language itself; they would still require, in addition, some graphic marks for the accents, the tones, the aspirations, and the other modifications of voice, which with them form such important elements in the vocal expression of their meaning. But, with these additional marks, an alphabet of the very simplest construction would answer their purpose; and peculiar circumstances place it within their reach to form one in the easiest manner that can well be imagined. All they would have to do is merely to confine themselves to one graphic character for each of their three hundred and thirty words, and they would have at once, ready made to their hands, an alphabet, in which the names of the letters would be those words, and the powers of the letters would be identical with their names. This alphabet is, I admit, of a very clumsy nature, and very inferior to those in use among other nations; but still it contains within itself the principle that gives the essential superiority to an alphabetic, over a mere phonetic, method of designation; and the Chinese could apply it to their own language by combining, not letter with letter, but letter with accent, tone, aspiration, &c.; while its application to foreign languages, being independent of those latter marks, would be made simply by the combination of letters; and they could express by these three hundred and thirty

^a — ce peu de mots suffit pour s'expliquer sur toutes sortes de matieres; parceque, sans multiplier les paroles, le sens se multiplie presque à l'infini par la diversité des accens, des inflexions, des tons, des aspirations, et d'autres changemens de la voix.—DU HALDE, tom. ii. p. 225.

letters every foreign name that they now do by means of an indefinite number of characters.

Such an alphabet the Chinese are actually now using, but they employ it promiscuously with a great many other alphabets, in all of which the letters have the same names and powers, but differ in their shapes. All then that is necessary to render their phonetic system alphabetic, is to disengage one of the alphabets from the rest; and, as I have already observed, all that is requisite for this purpose is, simply, that they should confine themselves to one character for each of their words. Yet, simple and easy as this step appears to be, it has not yet been taken by them, nor is it likely to be taken without the farther action of external causes on their system. Surely here is a powerful argument, from actual experiment, against the discovery of an alphabet in any age, and particularly in the early ages of the world: this discovery has not, in fact, been yet made by a people placed in circumstances the most favourable for making it that can well be conceived.

Indeed the experimental proof which is supplied by a view of the whole of the Chinese case, bears most forcibly against the hypothesis which would represent letters as a human invention. In the first place, abundance of time has been afforded for the experiment. The ideagraphic system of the Chinese existed for a long series of ages before the commencement of their intercourse with nations employing alphabetic writing; quite long enough for them to have discovered an alphabet, if they could be expected ever to have made one out by their own ingenuity. A considerable time also has now elapsed since their foreign intercourse began, and in that interval they have been advanced on their way to letters a very important step, by the adoption of the phonetic use of characters, which they have learned from observing a foreign practice. Now if the Chinese, with the help of time and the help of foreign intercourse, have not been able to get to letters; how is it to be supposed that persons without these helps—and it is not pretended that those to whom the credit of the invention is attributed had either—

could have possibly reached them? Time bears against the probability of the invention in another way also, by experimentally showing that ideagraphy has no tendency towards an alphabet. The surest experimental criterion of the tendency of any system is supplied by the alterations which it experiences in the lapse of a considerable portion of time; and these, in the case before us, point not to letters, but in the very opposite direction; for the number of Chinese characters, now become enormous, is still constantly on the increase, and so is every day carrying their writing yet further and further from that limitation which constitutes the essential principle of an alphabet. In the next place, let us consider them in their actual state of being advanced to a phonetic use of characters, and see how very easy is the remaining step to an alphabet in their peculiar circumstances, compared with those of any other people: 1st, then, they have no process of decomposition to go through in order to get to the most simple articulate sounds: their words are already uncompounded, and by far the greatest number of them are simple syllables, the remainder of them differing from such only by the addition of an N or Ng;^a 2d, they have no classification or arrangement to make in order to find out the smallest number of syllables in their language, and exclude duplicates; for this also is already done for them, and they have only to take their words just as they come in their way; 3rd, as they have not to invent the phonetic use of characters, for they have been already taught this, so neither have they to invent the characters themselves, but merely to select one set out of those already in-

^a If the syllabic alphabet under consideration was as perfect as its imperfect nature admitted, it would have *all* its letters with powers that were simple syllables. But my object is not to find out the least faulty alphabet that could be derived from the phonetic practice of the Chinese, but to consider one of those which they are actually using mixed up with others; and to the separate use of which, as they are so short a distance from it, they probably will be led, not indeed by their own system, but by the further influence of external causes.

vented; and this can be so much the more easily done, because it can be gradually done, by a gradual reduction of the number of characters which they now employ for each word. So easy, in a comparative point of view, is the operation which remains to be performed by them, thus divested of the difficulties of decomposition, classification, and invention. Here then again the question presses with accumulated force against the advocates for the human invention of letters. If the Chinese, with such helps to overcome difficulties on the one side, and such a reduction of difficulties on the other side, have not yet succeeded in working the problem, is it reasonable to think that men could have solved it in the infancy of nations without any help, and without any simplification of the process?

Clumsy and imperfect as the alphabet is which has been just described, still the application of it by the Chinese to their own language would give them an immense advantage over their present method of graphically expressing their thoughts. Whether there has yet appeared any indication of their approaching to this alphabet by a reduction in the number of homophones employed by them, I am not aware: but their observation of foreign practice will obviously lead to such reduction, though their own system never would. There is one cause, however, which exerts a powerful influence in retarding their adoption of any sort of alphabetic writing. In China the only road to promotion in the civil branch of government is through learning—if indeed the mere knowing how to read and write can be called by that name; but low as this degree of erudition is among us, it is in that country the very highest criterion of talent and information. With the exception then of the emperor and a few of his nearer relatives, no one there can obtain any office in the state except by proficiency in the Chinese method of writing. The Mandarins thus owing all their rank and consequence to the pains they had taken to master the difficulties of this cumbersome system, are averse to letting others rise to eminence and wealth by easier means: they view with jealousy the introduction of any facilities into the process of learning, because the

path to honour and emolument might be thereby opened to too great a number of competitors, and besides, their skill, upon which they pride themselves exceedingly, would cease to be valued and respected by the public, if a far more useful vehicle of information came to be generally known. Hence probably originated the strict measures taken to prevent all intercourse between the great body of the people and strangers; and this illiberal feeling of the Mandarins was, I believe, the real cause of the expulsion of the Jesuits from China. For as to the charge of political intrigues which was brought against them, however inclined they might be to such practices on a favourable opportunity, it is not likely they would have been so imprudent or impolitic as to commit themselves prematurely in this way, while as yet the number of Christian converts to support them bore but a very small proportion to the main bulk of the population. Besides they had no temptation to such rashness; they had just completed a trigonometrical survey of the principal provinces of the empire, which, though probably not executed with all the precision of a modern work of the kind, must yet have been of immense advantage to the nation at large;^a and they were every day rising in favour with the emperor, and in reputation with the people. This was no time for them, however it might be for the Mandarins, to wish for any change in the current of events; and if we examine the case impartially, I apprehend we shall find reason to suspect that the latter party, and not the Missionaries, were the real jesuits on the occasion. What strengthens the suspicion of the double dealing of the Mandarins in this instance, is, that their subsequent conduct, in the total exclusion of Europeans from the interior of the country, which they have rigidly enforced ever since, is such as would naturally spring out of the jealousies here attributed to them, and can hardly be accounted for on any other grounds. But whatever may be the motives which

^a See Preface of Du Halde's China, in which there is a Report of the Missionaries on this subject.

influence the governors of China, from the very highest officer of the state, next after the emperor, down to the lowest; it is plain that the effect of their measures will be to retard and impede the introduction of alphabetic writing. In addition then to the causes common to both Egypt and China for the continuance of their graphic systems, so long after they could have been changed for the better, others may be assigned peculiar to each country; and as in the former instance the chief explanation of the phenomenon was derived from the superstition of the people, so in the latter it will be found to rest on the constitution of the government.

But the plan of exclusion and concealment on which the continuation of the very burdensome state of the graphic art in China depends, cannot be always maintained. Within the last hundred years the Chinese have virtually gained dominion over Thibet, and with a constantly increasing influence they must also have a constantly increasing intercourse with the Thibetians, a people who make use of alphabetic writing. The effect hence arising is already beginning to appear, for there is now to be seen printed in several of their books the Thibetian alphabet, which is a modification of that employed in the Shanscrit language. This, it is true, is a very imperfect one, for it contains not less than fifty characters, but still it is vastly superior to that immediately derivable from their own phonetic practice; to the improvement of which it may eventually lead, by teaching them to decompound the syllabic powers of its letters, and reduce them to consonants and vowels. Indeed a practice has already commenced among them directly conducting to such result, and it presents the alphabet I have been considering in a very curious point of view. When they wish to express in their dictionaries the sound which in their language corresponds to the meaning of a new character, they do this by placing after it two others that are well known, the sounds corresponding to which are such, that the beginning of the first, combined with the end of the second, will make up the required sound; or, in other words, to convey to the mind of the reader an unknown syllable,

H

they put together two of their letters; and the beginning of the name of the first letter, combined with the end of the name of the second, gives the sought syllable. Thus, for instance, if the letters *tsai* and *ho* were put together, they would denote the syllable *tso*; but if their order should be inverted, they would give the syllable *hai*. The Chinese call the letters which are combined the *mother* characters,^a and the syllable which arises out of the combination they denominate the *daughter*. It is evident that this practice, if continued sufficiently long, might lead to the complete decomposition of articulate sound; and then, at last, the Chinese would arrive at an alphabet consisting of consonants and vowels, if they should not previously reach it by increased familiarity with the Thibetian letters. In the mean time their alphabet, in its state of transition from the ruder to a more perfect form, presents a very singular phenomenon. That the intermediate state should commence before the completion of the primitive form by the exclusion of homophones, is in itself a curious circumstance; which, however, can be accounted for by considering that the process going forward is not invention, but chiefly observation, and that different parts of an external system may be simultaneously observed. But the Chinese letters, in the above described use of them, differ from those of every known alphabet in having each of them two powers, one taken from the beginning of the name, and the other from its termination; and the position of the letter in a syllable determines which of its powers is to be used. This peculiarity, however, might possibly cease in the course of time, even independently of foreign observation; as it might be found by mere practice that the beginning of the name of one letter was the same as the end of that of some other, and consequently that it would not only be useless, but even cause confusion to retain the double powers.

^a It was from a nearly similar view of the subject, that grammarians were induced to distinguish certain remarkable Hebrew letters of important use in the expression of syllables, by giving them the technical denomination of *Matres Lectionis*, the *Mothers of Reading*.

Here it may be interesting to consider, whether the human mind could by its own sole powers pass from a syllabic alphabet to one consisting of consonants and vowels, and whether any limitation must be put on the direction of the path conducting to the latter alphabet. I shall commence with the general examination of both questions. Let it then be supposed that a reader is supplied with an alphabet of the former kind, as perfect as its nature admitted, containing signs for all the simple syllables of his language, and not deteriorated by homophones or diaphones, it being without two letters for any one syllable, or two syllables for one letter. One unavoidable imperfection of this alphabet would lie in the great number of its letters, which, though different for different languages, could hardly, under any circumstances, be supposed less than a hundred. Another imperfection would be found in the difficulty of reading with such characters: for, although it would be a very easy operation, where each letter was by itself to denote a syllable, as in the first stage of the phonetic practice of the Chinese; or where two of them were to form the syllable, after the manner in which they are employed in the second stage of that practice: yet the case would be quite different in the application of such an alphabet to languages in general. In the first place there would be nothing on the face of the writing to show whether any assigned syllable was to be formed from one or more letters; in the next place, supposing two letters to go to its formation, it would yet remain to be determined in the case of which of them the vocal part of its syllabic power was to be dropped; and thirdly, if three letters should have to be combined in the one syllable, this latter difficulty would be doubled. So that in fact, without great familiarity with the language which was written in such characters, it would be impossible to read them. It is, however, only through the practical difficulties last mentioned, and through the being habitually familiarized with them or with some plan analogous to that adopted in the second stage of the Chinese phonetic system; it is only through such means that man could, without supernatural aid,

ever rise to a superior alphabet. The necessity, in the case of syllables denoted by more letters than one, of dropping the vocal part of some of them, might in time practically lead him to the conception of a consonant as distinct from a syllable; though, I am convinced, great acumen, as well as long practice, would be necessary for conducting him to this point. But to suppose he could arrive at it by mere theory is not reasonable; for it is extremely unlikely that he would of himself think of decomposing simple syllables at all; and it is still more unlikely that it would ever occur to him, in his designation of words, to introduce signs of what were not sounds, but only accompaniments of sounds. It surely would be a most extraordinary thing for any one ever, from mere theory, to anticipate that a sign which could not be sounded by itself, should yet be necessary for the designation of a sound. It is only, then, by the practice above mentioned frequently bringing the consonant within the compass of his observation, that he could ever be expected to have his attention arrested by it, and thus to arrive at a perception of its nature. But this difficulty once completely surmounted, it certainly would come within the reach of his natural powers to finish the part of the work which would yet remain to be done; for it might naturally occur to him to arrange under the same class the syllables that began with the same consonant, and then the similarity in the variations of vocal termination in the different classes might at length be perceived. Thus the number of his letters would be reduced to as many consonants as there were classes, and as many vowels or diphthongs as there were varieties of vocal termination in each class.

With respect, however, to man's inability to reach a consonantal alphabet, except through the medium of a syllabic one, the proof of this does not rest on mere probability: it can be brought very near to strict demonstration. The human mind is so constituted that it cannot originate any one of its simple ideas of sensation, but has them at first only as it has received them from observing the qualities of external objects; the ideas

being blended together in the imagination, in the same manner as the qualities from which they are taken, are united in nature. Afterwards, indeed, it can mentally separate them, and think of one quality apart from the rest; but it can form no conception of this quality separate from others, till it has first observed it in a concrete state. Thus a man must first have in his imagination the idea of a red coat, or a red night-cap, or red paint, or some red substance or other, before he can think of the quality of redness apart from any substance or surface whatever; and just in like manner he must employ letters with syllabic powers before he can attach to them consonantal ones. Hence, even at the present day, when a person is taught one of the alphabets now in use, all the letters are, in the first instance, syllabic, in reference to his apprehension. Thus, for example, when he is taught the use of the letter B, he is made to pronounce it as the syllable *bee*, and the only idea he can at first form of its power is that which he has of that syllable. But when he becomes familiar with several other syllables, as *bo*, *bi*, *bu*, &c., beginning with the same letter, he perceives something common to those different syllables which can be separated from them in thought, though not in actual sound; and then at last he gets a perception of the consonantal power of B. Now if man must go through this process in the case of an alphabet of the more perfect kind, ready made for him, *a fortiori*, he will be forced to do so, where he has to make such an alphabet himself; and it would be just as impossible for him to arrive at it, without having been previously acquainted with one in which the powers of the characters were syllabic, as it would be for a person who had been blind from his birth to form an idea of colour.

Having ascertained through what pass the investigator is unavoidably compelled to direct his course, I shall now more particularly consider the nature of the proceeding itself by which he is to arrive at the distinction between syllables and consonants. And here it may be observed, in the first place, that we should form a very inadequate idea of the difficulty of the process from that encountered by a person learning the con-

sonantal powers of letters in a modern alphabet. For, 1. there is an immense difference between the finding any thing out one's self, and the being gradually led to the observation of it through means of the instruction of another; and, 2. to revert to the example above given, the learner is greatly assisted to form a distinct conception of the separate parts of the syllables *bo, bi, bu, &c.*, by his getting separate signs for those parts, and seeing that there is a common sign in all for the common part. But the investigator, who is to advance solely by his own exertions from a syllabic to a superior alphabet, has neither of these helps; or, at all events, he has not the second one; for even supposing his letters decomposable, like those of the Chinese, still he cannot separate them into parts, so as to commence with a common part. His sight, therefore, instead of assisting, actually impedes him here; and it is only by excluding from his thoughts the shape of the letters, and attending solely to the sounds denoted by them, that he could ever arrive at the distinction under consideration.

But in the second place there is this additional, and perhaps still greater obstruction in his way, that, difficult as the task is in itself, it is complicated by two others, which must be undertaken by him at the same time; namely, the making out the classification which would give the number of consonants, and that which would give the number of vowels: and although the two latter problems could be solved with comparative ease after the complete solution of the first, yet where the obstructions presented by the three are blended together, and combined, the difficulty of the entire process is increased in a compound ratio to a very formidable extent. Some circumstances connected with the employment of a syllabic alphabet have been already noticed as tending to lead observation to the distinction between consonant and vowel; but a very strong tendency in the opposite direction is produced by the force of habit acting on the mind accustomed to look on each letter as the sign of a syllable. So that man could not be expected to arrive at a clear conception of the distinction in question, till he had made the two classifications; and these he

certainly could not make till he had discovered the distinction. I do not hence infer that the three operations must, strictly speaking, be simultaneously performed, which, in fact, would be quite beyond the reach of human ability; but this much, I conceive, must be admitted, that their three difficulties would press at once upon the investigator's first attempts, and that he must be exceedingly embarrassed in separating these from each other, and hitting off the order in which he should encounter them. This compound problem the Chinese at present have to work, but then they also have the observation of extern practice to assist them in the process. To the unaided efforts of man the task has never been proposed in this complicated form, and it is very doubtful whether it could be achieved by such efforts alone.

In the example I have already given, the more extensive classification, by which the syllables commencing with the same consonantal power are arranged together, is supposed to be ready made for our investigator; and the shorter and more easy one, which gives the varieties of vowel sound, remains alone to encumber his principal operation. With this simplification of the process, it certainly comes within the reach of man; yet even still it will be found one of no small embarrassment, and the people who actually made their way through it are entitled to very great credit for their ingenuity. Of the extent of the difficulty some notion may be formed from the fact, that the Jews had the problem before them in this comparatively simple state for several centuries without ever being able to solve it; and when at last they came to use their letters to denote consonants instead of syllables, they did so, not in consequence of finding out the distinction themselves, but from having been taught it by another people. This remarkable fact will be proved, I hope, to the satisfaction of the reader, in the next part of my work; but it is here mentioned by anticipation, because the early alphabetic practice of the Jews and the present phonetic one of the Chinese serve to illustrate each other.

The first alphabets were all of them syllabic; not merely in reference to the apprehension of a learner, which every alphabet must be; but even in reference to that of the most experienced reader in the earlier ages of the world. One of the ancient alphabets, viz. the Ethiopic, has come down to our times presenting to us a very curious and interesting aspect; for it is evidently intermediate between the syllabic and consonantal states, and must have been put in its present form just after the people using it had learned the nature of vowels, and before they had extricated themselves from their old practice of making their letters denote syllables. I here subjoin a list of the powers of the characters as they have been transmitted to us: it is superior to the embryo Chinese alphabet, both in the comparative fewness of its terms, and in their arrangement, which is complete as far as is necessary for pointing out the extent of the reduction which might be still farther made in their number. Some of the powers, which are really different, have the appearance of being identical, partly from our ignorance of the exact distinction between them, and partly from the impossibility of expressing that distinction by means of Roman letters. The number of homophones here is therefore by no means so great as the list would seem to indicate.

The 182 Powers of the Characters in the Ethiopic Alphabet.

ha, hū, hī, hā, hē, he, hō	cha, chū, chī, chā, chē, che, chō
la, lū, lī, lā, lē, le, lō	va, vū, vī, vā, vē, ve, vō
ha, hū, hī, hā, hē, he, hō	ha, hū, hī, hā, hē, he, hō ^a
ma, mū, mī, mā, mē, me, mō	za, zū, zī, zā, zē, ze, zō
sa, sū, sī, sā, sē, se, sō	ja, jū, jī, jā, jē, je, jō
ra, rū, rī, rā, rē, re, rō	da, dū, dī, dā, dē, de, dō
sa, sū, sī, sā, sē, se, sō	ga, gū, gī, gā, gē, ge, gō
ka, kū, kī, kā, kē, ke, kō	ta, tū, tī, tā, tē, te, tō
ba, bū, bī, bā, bē, be, bō	pa, pū, pī, pā, pē, pe, pō
ta, tū, tī, tā, tē, te, tō	za, zū, zī, zā, zē, ze, zō
ha, hū, hī, hā, hē, he, hō	zza, zzū, zzī, zzā, zzē, zze, zzō
na, nū, nī, nā, nē, ne, nō	fa, fū, fī, fā, fē, fe, fō
ha, hū, hī, hā, hē, he, hō ^a	pa, pū, pī, pā, pē, pe, pō

It is evident that nothing could have retained the alphabet in this unwieldy state, and prevented its reduction to twenty-six consonants and seven vowels, but the force of habit acting on a people who had been accustomed to look on each power as indivisible because represented by an indivisible character; and who, even after they had learned the distinct nature of the vowels, found yet a difficulty both in separating, what they had never before parted, the consonant from some vowel or other; and in conceiving, for the first time, as separate in thought what could not be separate in real existence. For the present I shall postpone any further consideration of this alphabet: the only observation about it which need be here added is, that it certainly did not originate in Ethiopic invention.

^a By the manner in which I have marked the consonantal part of the powers in each of these two classes, I merely intend to express that the particular nature of the aspirations in them is now unknown; for which reason the sign of a consonant is generally omitted in those terms; but their syllabic nature is thereby misrepresented, and each class is made to look as if it consisted merely of seven vowels, instead of seven syllables, commencing each of them with a common consonant.

I now wish to draw attention to the nature of hieroglyphic reading, in order that I may point out how vastly inferior the documents so read are to alphabetic ones in the recording of proper names. Our own numeric figures afford me the means of giving a very familiar illustration of the subject. These are ideagraphic characters of a particular kind, and combine advantages that are drawn from very different sources; for while they borrow from the alphabetic principle the property of being limited to an exceedingly small number of distinct elementary signs, they derive from their own immediate nature that of conveying the same meaning to people who speak quite different languages. On the former property it is unnecessary to dwell, but the latter may be worth considering. To take an example then: the combination 54 does not immediately denote the words "fifty-four;" for, if it did, it would be intelligible only to an Englishman; whereas it is known to be understood equally, and in the same sense, by the English, French, Italians, Spaniards, Germans, &c.; although the individuals of those several nations would employ quite different terms in reading the combination. What it immediately expresses then, is not two words, but an idea—the idea of a particular number. Still in each language this number is so closely connected in the mind of the reader with certain words, that it scarcely appears to precede them; and he passes from one object of thought to the other so rapidly as to be nearly unconscious of the transition. If, however, he turn his attention to the process, he will find this difference in reading the alphabetic group "fifty-four," and the ideagraphic one, 54; that in the former case he proceeds immediately to the words, and thence to the number; but in the latter one his first step is to the idea of the number, and thence instantaneously he goes on to the words—so instantaneously, indeed, as to be hardly aware of any intervention, and of his not reaching them as immediately and directly as by the other way. Thus I apprehend that in the case not only of numeric words, but also of all those that are in common, familiar use, the mind will arrive at them as accurately, and, to all appearance, as

readily by hieroglyphic as by alphabetic reading. But as soon as we grow less habituated to any term; as soon as the association between it and the corresponding idea is loosened; then the superiority of the alphabetic mode of designation becomes very decided.

To give an example of this, I cannot well select a Chinese term, because they are so few, that we might almost as soon be conceived to forget our letters as a Chinese to forget his words. I shall therefore choose an Egyptian name, for instance, "Thuthmosis," who, as is quite certain according to M. Champollion, begun his reign in Egypt so early as the year B. C. 1774, although it is equally certain that there were seventeen long dynasties of sovereigns before him. Well! let us for a moment suppose that there was in very remote times a person who really had the name, and let us inquire how, in after ages, this was to be ascertained. When "Thuthmosis" is presented to the eye of an alphabetic reader, though he should not have met the name before; or having met it, should have forgotten it; still it will be brought to his mind as soon as he sees this group of letters; and will be represented to him as accurately as when the articulate sounds of which it consists were first combined. But if the sign, or group of signs, employed, should denote immediately not the name itself, but the person distinguished by that name—and, before the introduction of some phonetic system, an ideagraphic writer could express proper names only in the same way as he did any other words—then the case would be entirely altered. As long indeed as Thuthmosis lived, and as long after as his name continued fresh in the memory of people, it would be suggested to them by the collection of emblems, which immediately denoted their idea of the individual; but in order to its subsequent preservation, oral tradition would become necessary to keep up the association through which only the remoter signification of the emblems could be arrived at; and the accuracy in reading the word could be no greater than the accuracy of that tradition.

Alphabetic writers have also another mode of expressing

numbers, which is exactly the converse of what holds alike in the phonetic practice of the Chinese and Egyptians. In both their systems the characters are by peculiar marks divested of their proper significations, and turned into phonetic signs: but with us, *vice versa*, letters are sometimes stripped of their phonetic powers, and converted into ideagraphic characters. The one practice, therefore, affords by contraposition a familiar illustration of the other. Thus the group LIV. by a particular shape of the letters differing from those of the rest of the text in which it occurs, is known to denote, not a syllable or articulate sound, but a numeric idea. And of course it does this independently of language; so that it conveys just the same meaning to a Frenchman, for instance, that it does to me; though we read it differently, I by the words "fifty-four," and he by "cinquante quatre." But suppose it should be written LIVth or LIV^{eme}, the addition now made to the group immediately limits it to one particular language, and it is known to belong to an English text in the former instance, and to a French one in the latter. This alphabetic modification of an ideagraphic expression is very remarkable, and it has precisely its converse in the phonetic practice of the Egyptians, in which we often find a phonetic group modified by an ideagraphic termination: each sort of writer modifying the less familiar form of expression by that one to which he was more accustomed. But when it is assumed that there are Egyptian hieroglyphic groups, whether ideagraphic or phonetic, which are modified by phonetic terminations, I must demur to this, till stronger proof of it is produced than mere surmise, as I do not find the converse practice among alphabetic writers. If, indeed, a thought or word should be expressed partly by phonetic signs, and partly by ideagraphic ones, the order of the parts would be quite indifferent: for instance, the present year might be written eighteen hundred and 35, or 1800 and thirty-five. I do not say that either way is usual, but only that it is conceivable; and they both serve to illustrate the manner in which the two different kinds of signs may be supposed blended together in the latest

hieroglyphic specimens of the Egyptians. But when one set by themselves give an entire expression, which is again to be modified by the other set, it is certain in the cases with which we are acquainted, and thence highly probable in all others, that the latter office is performed by the characters which the writer is in the more constant habit of employing in his general system; and as he cannot reverse the proceeding, he must so modify the group on which he has to operate, no matter of which kind the signs forming it may be. Analogy supports this position, and it will be found strongly corroborated in the case of the Egyptians, by comparing their writing and language together, when we come to a more particular consideration of their graphic practice. But if the position be once established, the inference from it is inevitable, that all attempts at giving grammatical rules for Egyptian writing must be vain, because grammar applies not to the simple graphic expression of a thought, but only to the phonetic modifications of that expression. There is one way, however, in which the immediate ground of this inference may be brought to a closer test. The Japanese are said now to mix their phonetic and symbolic signs in the same manner as it is supposed that the ancient Egyptians did, and as it is very possible that they actually did in the later stages of their hieroglyphic writing.^a If then the Japanese be found to employ phonetic modifications of their graphic expressions of either kind, the same practice must be admitted possible in the case of the Egyptians; and the analogical argument will be neutralized by being made to bear in opposite directions. But until this strange result be arrived at, both reason and analogy justify an adherence to the position above stated, and to the inference thence deduced.

^a Le système ordinaire de l'écriture Japonaise ressemble, plus qu'aucun autre, à celui des anciens Egyptiens. Les Japonais mêlent leurs signes syllabiques, exprimant des sons, aux caractères idéographiques des Chinois, exactement comme les Egyptiens, dont l'écriture se composait à-la-fois de signes phonétiques et de symboliques.—*Examen Critique*, par M. KLA-PROTH, p. 25.

In order to fix a limit to the date of the commencement of the phonetic systems of the Chinese and Japanese, it may be observed, that all the older accounts, as late as that published by Du Halde in 1735, agree in the statement, that these two nations, speaking languages entirely different, could yet perfectly understand each other's writing, and that all their books were alike intelligible to both.^a Now, it is evident, that when this was the case, their writing must have been purely ideographic, and could have had no admixture whatever of phonetic signs; for as soon as ever such signs, borrowed from the different languages, were introduced, the common understanding by both parties of the same books must have ceased. The phonetic practice, therefore, of neither country could have begun sooner than within the last hundred years.

Although the Japanese are at present making a greater use of phonetic signs than the Chinese, they have not yet advanced beyond syllabic letters; and of these they are said to have only forty-seven, which number is quite insufficient for the syllabic alphabet of any language whatever. Besides even this imperfect approach to alphabetic writing cannot be considered as their own invention, since it did not commence, according to the date just fixed, till two hundred years after their intercourse with Europeans had been first established.^b The Japanese system there-

^a Characteres toti Regno Sinarum, uti et Japoniæ, Coreæ, Cochinchinæ, Tonchini, communes sunt; idioma diversissimum est. Hinc Japonæ, Cochinchinæ, Coreæ, et Tonchini gentes, libros et literas hoc characterum genere scriptas intelligunt quidem; sibi tamen mutuò loqui, ac se invicem intelligere loquentes non possunt.—KIRCHER *China Illus.* pars vi. cap. v. p. 235.

Les caracteres de la Cochinchine, du Tongking, du Japon, sont les mêmes que ceux de la Chine, et signifient les mêmes choses, sans toutefois que ces Peuples, en parlant, s'expriment de la même sorte. Ainsi, quoique les langues soient très-différentes, et qu'ils ne puissent pas s'entendre les uns les autres en parlant; ils s'entendent fort bien en s'écrivant, et tous leurs livres sont communs.—DU HALDE, tom. ii. p. 226.

^b The islands of Japan were discovered about the year of our Lord 1542, by the Portuguese, who were admitted into the interior of the empire, and allowed free communication with the natives for a considerable time: and

fore, as far as I know of it, concurs with the Chinese one, in corroborating the general argument which has been urged against the discovery of alphabetic writing by man.

The case of the Egyptians now remains to be considered. They were a conquered people, and lived under the dominion of alphabetic writers for more than five hundred years, before they entirely discontinued their own ideagraphic system. We may therefore expect to find, intermixed with this system, a more perfect use of phonetic signs than in any other kind of hieroglyphic legends: and, accordingly, there is here to be seen, what has not yet appeared in Chinese or Japanese writing, a distinction between consonant and vowel. But notwithstanding this superior phonetic practice (which, in fact, was forced upon the Egyptians by the circumstances in which they were placed), there are still coupled with it certain indications of its not having been the offspring of their own ingenuity. Two of these it will be sufficient here to point out; 1. the number of homophones in their system; 2. their continuing to use syllabic signs after they had got separate ones for consonant and vowel.

1. The multitude of homophones here, though not so vast as in the Chinese system, is still very great. For instance, M. Champollion gives seventeen different signs of S power, collected from the characters employed in writing Greek and Roman names; and twenty-five such signs in his more general table. Now, though I do not admit that he has legitimately established any thing like so many signs for S, or for any other letter; yet still the number of homophones which have been clearly made out, is quite enough to prove that the Egyptians owed their system to the observation of a foreign practice. For no people could go through the decompositions and classifica-

although they were eventually expelled on account of the detection of some intrigues of the jesuits against the government, yet all intercourse with Europeans was not in consequence completely put an end to, but one placed under great restrictions has been since continued.

tions of articulate sound, which would be necessary in order to their arriving at any phonetic system by their own unaided efforts; no people could do all this without seeing the advantage of avoiding homophones in that system. The evident ignorance, therefore, of the Egyptians as to this advantage, proves clearly that it was not by their own powers of invention that they got at their use of phonetic signs. Here M. Champollion oddly enough draws the very opposite conclusion from the same premiss; because, according to him, if the Egyptians had learned their use of signs from the Greeks, they would, in imitation of those alphabetic writers, have adopted only one sign for each power. But the consequent of this hypothetic proposition does not at all follow from its antecedent. If, indeed, they had *accurately* observed the Greek alphabetic practice, and made themselves acquainted with its principle, they would have learned from it to avoid homophones. The proper inference, therefore, from the prominent fault of their own system is, that they derived it from observation of some foreign practice, and at the same time that this observation was very imperfect; that it was, in fact, such as might be expected from a people who hated the writing of their conquerors, and yet were forced to learn it.

Here perhaps it might strike one to be quite incredible, that the Egyptians should remain ignorant of the essential principle of alphabetic writing so long after they had learned to read Greek. But if the phenomenon be duly considered, it will be found not at all irreconcilable with our common nature. For most men are guarded from violating the above-mentioned principle, not by abstract reasoning, nor by looking to remote consequences, but by the immediate trouble they would be put to of inventing and practising new characters, and by the great disadvantage which would, from such innovations, ensue, of their writing being made illegible to those with whom they had to correspond. But if, like the Egyptians, they had, from any cause whatever, a multiplicity of signs ready by them, which they could with equal ease and facility make use of as letters,

and which would be equally understood by those among whom they lived, then mere discretion would not supply a sufficient safeguard against their falling into incorrect systems of writing. To illustrate this point I will venture to put forward a case somewhat analogous to the one in question: 1. Suppose a people frequently to give to the letter *a* the same sound that all other nations using the Roman alphabet assign to *e*, and again, generally, to give to *e* the same power that the others assign to *i*; here would be a source of infinitely more confusion and perplexity to strangers than could possibly arise from the addition of two homophones to the alphabet. But, 2. to proceed with my hypothetical case, suppose this people actually to pride themselves on the imperfection of their system just described, and to laugh at the embarrassments into which foreigners were in consequence thrown. And, 3. to complete the paradox, suppose the people guilty of these puerilities, to stand foremost in the world for excellence in every valuable quality of both head and heart—If such a case has ever come within the observation of my reader, he surely must admit that the Egyptian one under consideration is far less extraordinary—far less paradoxical. The fact is, that, with respect to writing, mankind in general are protected from the adoption of faulty methods, not by their own judgment, but by the circumstance of their having been taught and practised in comparatively correct systems; and most men, if placed in the same circumstances as the Egyptians, would have phonetically written in the same way. But suppose—for as I have been just suggesting a very strange case, I am induced to superadd one here which I admit to be still stranger—suppose a man who had never been taught to read or write, was gifted with such extraordinary powers of mind, that he actually made out, by his own unaided efforts, a system of alphabetic writing: it is quite impossible that, having by such means completed an alphabet, he could be ignorant of either the essential principle of its construction, or of the advantage of adhering to that principle in his graphic practice.

2. The other circumstance which has been noticed in the

phonetic practice of the Egyptians, proves, in a similar manner, that they never by their own powers of reflection arrived at the distinction between a syllable and a consonant; for if they had, they must have known the value of vowel signs, and would have made a constant use of them. This argument equally goes to show that not one of the Shemitic nations rose by its own efforts from a syllabic to a consonantal alphabet, and will be more fully insisted on in the next part of this work. Enough, I apprehend, has been here stated to prove, that, whether it was from the Greeks, or at an earlier period from some other people, that the Egyptians learned their phonetic practice; they did not, at any rate, make it out themselves, or by their own efforts discover the use of either syllabic, or of consonant and vowel signs. The Egyptian case then, as well as every other one that is known, accords with the general argument which has been urged against the discovery by man of any alphabet whatever, and abstract reasoning on the subject is borne out and sustained by an induction of particulars, the fullest that can be made, and which is not weakened by a single exception.

But, though it is quite immaterial to the question at present before me, by what people the Egyptians were taught their phonetic use of signs; yet if it could be proved that in all probability they learned it from the Greeks, and at the same time shown that there was no foundation whatever for the arguments bearing the opposite way; then the indirect attack on the historic truth of the Bible, which has been derived from Egyptian records, would entirely fall to the ground. I hope therefore that I shall be excused in digressing a little from my main subject in order to investigate this matter. But before I enter on the particular examination of it, I shall first conclude the general proof, which I have already advanced against the modern theory respecting the nature of the Egyptian writing, as far as I could found it on the testimony of ancient authors; and I shall now inquire whether the part of this proof which is supplied by a view of the writing itself, be not fully as strong as that previously established on external considerations. The points to

which I wish here to draw attention are, 1. the sameness of this writing at different epochs of the Egyptian history; 2. its sameness in different districts of Egypt and in extensive regions, stretching far to the south of the most southern part of that country.

On the first point M. Champollion favours us with the following information: "Les monumens qui subsistent encore sur ce sol antique, quoique fort antérieurs à tout ce que nous pouvons connaître de pareil en Europe, sont les résultats et d'une sculpture assez avancée et d'une architecture parfaite. Les bas-reliefs qui les décorent sont tous accompagnés de légendes hiéroglyphes absolument semblables dans les formes, les combinaisons et l'arrangement de leurs signes, aux légendes qui accompagnent, sur les derniers produits de l'art égyptien, les images des rois grecs et celles des empereurs romains. Ainsi, l'écriture hiéroglyphe égyptienne ne se présente jamais à nous que dans son état de perfection, quelque anciens que soient les textes dans les quels nous pouvons l'étudier. Parmi les monumens égyptiens connus jusqu'à ce jour, ceux qui remontent à l'époque la plus reculée, ont été exécutés vers le XIX.^e siècle avant l'ère vulgaire, sous la XVIII.^e dynastie, et ils nous montrent déjà l'écriture comme un art essentiellement distinct de la peinture et de la sculpture, avec lesquelles il reste confondu chez les peuples à peine échappés à l'état sauvage. L'écriture égyptienne de ces temps éloignés étant la même que celle des derniers Egyptiens, il faut croire que ce système graphique était déjà arrivé à un certain degré de perfection absolue, puisque, pendant un espace de vingt deux siècles à partir de cette époque, il ne paraît point avoir subi la moindre modification."—pp. 329, 330.

The sameness of the Egyptian writing here described is, I believe, generally admitted to extend backward for a considerable space of time, and the only doubt is respecting the age of the monuments at which it terminates. M. Champollion dwells very fully on the subject, with the evident design of establishing a prodigious antiquity for the Egyptian monarchy; and, in his

eagerness to carry this point, he overlooks another consequence which arises out of the admitted part of his statement. Suppose it granted that the sameness in question goes back six or even three centuries before Christ, and let us see what will follow. During that time foreigners gained dominion over the country, and made Greek the medium of communication in every important transaction or document. It is impossible, under such circumstances, but that a most decided change must have taken place in the Egyptian language; and such result is fully confirmed by the appearance which the remains of the Coptic that are still extant, present to us. The oldest of these are little posterior to the last specimens of hieroglyphic writing, and they are full of words of Greek origin. Now if we combine the two circumstances, a great change of language and no change of writing, it is evident that the latter must have been independent of the former, and consequently that it must have been ideographic. Thus, by his own admission, is removed the phonetic theory of M. Champollion; and with it must go the great antiquity which had been thereon founded of certain Egyptian records.

The second point leads to a like conclusion. The sameness of the hieroglyphic writing in different districts of Egypt, and the difference of dialects in those districts are, I believe, universally admitted; and they certainly are not denied by M. Champollion, for he endeavours to reconcile the combination of the two circumstances with his phonetic theory, as follows: "Quant à la suppression des voyelles médiales dans la peinture des mots, d'après la methode égyptienne, on pourrait s'en rendre raison, en considérant qu'à l'époque de l'invention des caractères phonétiques, il existait au moins un aussi grand nombre de dialectes ou de manières différentes de prononcer les mots de la langue, qu'il en put exister après cette invention, et croire, puisque les différences entre les trois dialectes encore connus de la langue égyptienne consistent en très-grande partie dans des nuances de voyelles, que le créateur du système alphabétique égyptien put, à cause de cela, négliger la notation des voyelles, pour

s'occuper plus spécialement des consonnes, sujettes à bien moins de variations. Quoi qu'il en soit, il n'est pas moins vrai de dire qu'un texte hiéroglyphique convenait, même dans sa partie phonétique, à tous les habitans de l'Egypte, qu'ils parlassent soit le dialecte thébain, soit le dialecte memphitique, soit le dialecte dit bashmourique, en supposant, ce qui peut être prouvé pour une époque assez ancienne, que l'existence de ces trois dialectes fût contemporaine de l'usage de l'écriture hiéroglyphe. Les différences de dialectes disparaissent, en effet, dans les mots égyptiens écrits en caractères phonétiques."—p. 366.

The grasp of intellect and the disinterestedness which are here flippantly attributed to the creator (as he is called) of the Egyptian alphabet, are very amusing. It seems then that this Egyptian not only invented a perfect alphabet, but also that, foregoing some of the advantages of his invention, and disregarding his own immediate interest and that of the people among whom he lived, he extended his views to adopting that use of letters which, as M. Champollion supposes, he found would be most advantageous to the empire at large. It was not at all from an imperfect knowledge of the nature of vowels that he taught an imperfect use of them; but he had no desire to make the most of his invention, and he generously sacrificed the certain interest of his own country, that a benefit, which, on a balance of accounts, must have been of a very doubtful nature, might accrue to distant provinces. With respect, however, to M. Champollion's reasoning on the point under consideration, it is perfectly correct. If the dialects differed only in their vowels, and if these were always omitted, then the difference of dialects and sameness of the hieroglyphic writing throughout Egypt would be quite compatible with that writing having been phonetic. But it so happens that neither of the premises here assumed is true. Thus, for instance, the Coptic for the *Heavens* is in one dialect ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩ , *Niphēoui*, and in the other ⲉⲡⲏⲕⲉ , *Empēue*; all the consonants of the two words being different, and none of the vowels of either being omitted, except the initial one of the second: and numerous examples of this kind might be adduced

from the translations of the Bible in the two dialects, where the parts still extant have a reference to the same verses of the original. As to his confounding the Coptic with the old Egyptian language, I lay no stress upon this mistake, it not making any difference in the force of the argument; for the variety of dialect in the derivative language indicates a corresponding variety to have existed in the mother tongue. I have only to add, that if the hieroglyphic documents in the different provinces of Egypt had been phonetic, we are justified by analogy in concluding, that there would appear in the combination of the characters some variety corresponding to that which subsequently took place in the different Coptic texts. The sameness, therefore, of the ancient writing on coeval monuments throughout the entire country, proves that writing to have been ideographic.

But this argument is still stronger when applied to the monuments found in Nubia and Ethiopia, at very great distances from Egypt; because in these countries we must suppose not merely a difference of dialects, but a total difference of languages, and therefore no common writing which was phonetic could by any possibility answer for them all. Upon the sameness of the hieroglyphic systems in Egypt and Nubia, M. Champollion thus writes: “Les monumens de la Nubie sont, en effet, couverts d’hiéroglyphes parfaitement semblables, et dans leurs formes, et dans leurs dispositions, à ceux que portent les édifices de Thèbes: on y retrouve les mêmes élémens, les mêmes formules, les mêmes mots, la même langue; et les noms des rois qui élevèrent les plus anciens d’entre eux, sont ceux mêmes des princes qui construisirent les plus anciennes parties du palais de Karnac à Thèbes. Les ruines du bel édifice de Soleb, situé sur le Nil, à près de cent lieues plus au midi que Philæ, frontière extrême de l’Égypte, sont, à notre connaissance, la construction la plus éloignée qui porte la légende royale d’un roi égyptien. Ainsi, dès le commencement de la XVIII.^e dynastie des Pharaons, c’est-à-dire près de 3600 ans avant l’époque présent, la Nubie était habitée par un peuple parlant la même langue, se

servant de la même écriture, ayant la même croyance, et soumis aux mêmes rois que les Egyptiens.”—p. 457. It is true that he endeavours to defeat the evident consequence of the sameness of writing here described, by asserting there was also a sameness in the language of the two countries. But this assertion is entirely gratuitous on his part, and it is besides inconsistent with his own account of Egypt, for if within the smaller compass there was a difference of dialects, *a fortiori*, it must have existed in the more extensive region of which that country formed a part. The probability however is, that in so wide a range of the African continent the difference must have gone much farther, and amounted to a radical diversity of tongues. As the writing then in those countries was the same, it is evident that it was ideagraphic, on similar grounds to those on which it is known that the Chinese and Japanese systems must have been purely such one hundred years ago.

In the passage last quoted there is an additional reason given, if M. Champollion's theory was to be relied on, for the great antiquity of Egypt as a civilized country, even at the early date of 3600 years before the present time. For it is not merely that the arts had then arrived at maturity under the Egyptian government, but also that its conquests had been already extended far beyond the frontiers, a circumstance just as incompatible as the former one with the supposition of the kingdom having been a newly erected one at the time, such as we might, by the Bible history, be led to suppose it. The attack, however, on this history is more directly made in the following passage, written on the same subject: “Mais ce n'est point à l'histoire seule de l'Egypte proprement dite, que les études hiéroglyphiques peuvent fournir de précieuses lumières; elles nous montrent déjà la Nubie comme ayant, aux époques les plus reculées, participé à tous les avantages de la civilisation égyptienne. L'importance, le nombre et sur-tout l'antiquité des monumens qu'on y admire, édifices contemporains de tout ce que la plaine de Thèbes offre de plus ancien, sont déjà, pour l'historien, des faits capitaux qui l'arrêtent en ébranlant les

bases du système adopté jusqu'ici sur l'origine du peuple égyptien."—p. 455. The Bible is not here expressly mentioned, but no one can doubt what is meant by the "bases of the system hitherto adopted, which are made to totter by the precious lights and capital facts" brought forward and established by means of the phonetic theory of M. Champollion.

I here subjoin the remainder of the above passage, as it exposes, in the clearest point of view, the *animus* with which this pious Savant wrote. "Il doit se demander, en effet, si la civilisation de Thèbes a remonté le Nil, la peuplade qui forme la nation égyptienne venant de l'Asie, ou bien si cette civilisation, arrivant du midi, descendant avec le fleuve sacré, ne s'est pas établie d'abord dans la Nubie, ensuite dans la partie la plus méridionale de la Thébaïde, et si, s'avancant successivement vers le nord, elle n'a point enfin, secondée par les efforts du fleuve, repoussé les eaux de la Méditerranée, et conquis pour l'agriculture la vaste plaine de la basse Egypte, contiguë à l'Asie. Dans cette hypothèse nouvelle, les Egyptiens seraient une race propre à l'Afrique, particulière à cette vieille partie du monde, qui montre par-tout des traces marquées d'épuisement et de décrépitude." The inspired Jewish historian has informed us that the entire postdiluvian race of men is descended from the common stock of Noah; but here, in total contempt of his account, the question is started whether the ancient Egyptians and the Asiatic nations did not spring from entirely separate and distinct origins; and it is decided as follows: "La constitution physique, les mœurs, les usages et l'organisation sociale des Egyptiens, n'avaient jadis, en effet, que de très-faibles analogies avec l'état naturel et politique des peuples de l'Asie occidentale, leurs plus proches voisins. La langue égyptienne enfin n'avait rien de commun, dans sa marche constitutive, avec les langues asiatiques: elle en diffère tout aussi essentiellement que les écritures de l'Egypte diffèrent des anciennes écritures des Phéniciens, des Babyloniens et des Perses. Ces deux derniers faits paraîtront déjà concluans, et peuvent trancher la question en faveur de la seconde hypothèse, l'origine Africaine des

Egyptiens, aux yeux des savans qui se sont occupés de l'histoire de la migration des anciens peuples. Tout semble, en effet, nous montrer dans les Egyptiens un peuple tout-à-fait étranger au continent asiatique." Here it is intimated that there was an African origin of men quite distinct from the Asiatic one. No "precious light," however, is thrown upon this "capital fact," and we are expected to admit it on the sole authority of M. Champollion's intimation. It seems then that the poor African is not our brother; he is of an entirely distinct breed; and the Mosaic account of the Flood is all a fiction. One might, perhaps, at first imagine that so important a piece of information ought to be substantiated by proof, and a full detail of circumstances; but on reflection it will be found that M. Champollion acted much more prudently in abstaining from particulars which possibly might startle the reader, and not receive so ready an assent; and in consequence he left the bare assertion by itself to make its impression on the mind of the unwary.

With respect, however, to the Egyptians belonging to this distinct breed, M. Champollion is more communicative, and gives us two reasons for it, that are quite conclusive in the eyes of the Savans who have made this subject their particular study. These reasons are founded on the facts that, 1. the Egyptian and Asiatic languages had nothing in common, and 2. the writings were also totally different. On both grounds it follows of course that the Chinese and Japanese are entirely a different class of beings from us, and so also are those descended from the primitive race of Americans. Indeed as it is not the combination of the two reasons that is represented as conclusive in the eyes of the learned, but each by itself, the result is inevitable, that there are as many distinct breeds of speaking animals as there are radically different languages in the world; but the point does not appear as yet decided which of these essentially different breeds are human, and which of the speakers are, like parrots, to be classed among the inferior animals. The reader will, I am sure, excuse my not seriously discussing the merits of this profound reasoning; indeed the fact on which one

of the arguments is grounded is contradicted by M. Champollion himself in more places than one. For instance, in page 111, he commences a paragraph thus: "Le nombre assez étendu de mots communs à l'égyptien et à l'hébreu;" and in page 75 he gives an actual example of this: "Nous ferons observer que le mot exprimant l'idée de *lionne*, en arabe لبوه (*lebouah*), et en hébreu לביה (*lebieh*), sont parfaitement semblables au mot égyptien λ&ξοι (*laboi*)."

But a little inconsistency should be forgiven where there was so worthy an object in view.

The fact is, a radical difference of language or of writing is so totally irrelevant to the question at issue, that it is quite immaterial, with a view to its decision, whether that difference be admitted or not. But M. Champollion's mode of putting the argument deserves some attention. For if a difference of language conclusively proves a difference of origin, then the story of the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, which took place there, must be entirely a fabrication: because if that part of the Bible were true, the reason advanced would have no conclusiveness whatever. Here again we may observe the delicate prudence of M. Champollion; he only insinuates the falsehood of the Mosaic history in this instance, but does not boldly state it or enter into any detail of reasons or facts, and he leaves the insinuation silently to work its way in the indolent and unsuspecting mind.

I shall now quit the subject of M. Champollion's religious opinions, and benevolent desire to infuse those opinions into the minds of his readers, boldly or cautiously, openly or covertly, according as each method was more likely to succeed; and in any farther reference I may have occasion to make to him, I shall confine myself to his phonetic system, as being the only foundation on which he had to rest such of his assertions of the above description as were advanced with most confidence and distinctness. With respect to the general arguments with which he endeavoured to sustain that system, the one relating to *anaglyphs* has already been discussed, so that his favourite maxim, and main prop of his theory, alone remains to be considered.

It is this, that a character once found to be phonetically employed, must have a phonetic signification assigned to it wherever it occurs; and certainly if he could prove this, it would go very far towards establishing his theory. The position is thus stated by himself: "Les signes reconnus pour phonétiques dans les noms propres, conservent cette valeur phonétique dans tous les textes hiéroglyphiques où ils se recontrent."—p. 102. The proof of this is made by him to depend upon the following fact. Certain characters in the proper names, where they are admitted to be phonetically employed, are found to be interchanged one for another, and therefore must be there used with the same phonetic power; but in every instance, *according to M. Champollion*, the characters that are thus interchangeable in the proper names, are equally so in the general texts; of course they must there have some equivalence or other; and that this equivalence is not in their meaning is proved by as curious a specimen of reasoning as, I believe, was ever met with. Here it is: "Chez les Chinois, nous voyons, il est vrai, un nom propre ou un mot étranger transcrit par le moyen d'une foule de caractères différens et en réalité idéographiques, lesquels n'apportent néanmoins que leur prononciation seule dans la transcription du nom étranger. Mais cela s'explique bien naturellement; un seul et même monosyllabe sert très-souvent de prononciation à une foule de caractères Chinois, qui expriment cependant des idées bien distinctes. Il était donc indifférent à la Chine d'employer tel caractère idéographique ou tel autre, puisque leur prononciation est absolument la même, quoique leur sens n'ait souvent aucune analogie. Pouvait-il en être de même en Egypte? La constitution intime de la langue parlée s'y opposait invinciblement; chaque monosyllabe égyptien n'exprime qu'une idée; chaque idée distincte est, dans cette langue, représentée par un mot distinct."—p. 107. It is really very difficult to find out what the meaning of this passage is, and it can only be disentangled by considering what it is the writer has in the first instance to prove; which plainly is, that no two Egyptian characters could be employed to express the same

idea; whence it would certainly follow that when any two are found interchangeable in the general text, the equivalence, so indicated, cannot be in sense; it must therefore be in sound, and the characters are phonetically used. Now let us see how he makes out that no two Egyptian characters could be employed in the same sense. In the first place then, we have it stated broadly, and without any qualification, that the Egyptian language was so perfect in its precision that there were in it no two words for the same idea; and, in the second place, it is with equal confidence asserted, that this precision *in the language* is invincibly opposed to the supposition of there being employed *in the writing* a plurality of signs for the same word; consequently no two Egyptian characters could denote the same word. Here it is hard to say which of his two positions is the one more destitute of foundation; and yet, even if they were both perfectly true, they would not establish the inference which the course of his argument required. For what he had primarily to make out was not, that two Egyptian characters could not express the same *word*, but that they could not express the same *idea*. Either then he mentally proceeded through some farther inferential step, or—what is a great deal more likely—he, in his train of reasoning, confounded these two propositions with each other. But it is certain, not only that these propositions are not identical, but also that the former of them does not imply the latter in such a sense as would produce the required inference. For the words denoted might be very different, and yet their immediate significations might include some common idea, in the ultimate representation of which the equivalence of the characters could be made to consist.

Besides the main faults of this argument, if it can be so called, there are minor blemishes in the statement, showing the extreme of inaccuracy and confusion. 1. With respect to the Chinese language, it is not true that one *pronunciation* answers for all the characters employed to denote the same syllable; one *articulation* indeed serves for them all, but the pronunciation, which depends not only on this, but on a variety of other

things, as the intonation, the accentuation, the aspiration, &c. &c. is different for every Chinese character that denotes a different idea. Though I am not prepared to say but that a great part of the variety in the pronunciation of the syllable may be dropped when the characters corresponding to it come to be phonetically used; but even in this use of them a perfect identity of pronunciation cannot be inferred from a mere identity of articulation. 2. With respect to the Egyptian language, it is not true that all the words in it are monosyllabic, and this might be shown even from the writer's own book, in which he confounds Egyptian and Coptic, and gives a great variety of words of the latter language, of which certainly several, and I rather think above half, are not monosyllables. But he had been just before writing of Chinese words, which are really of this description, and he transferred to one set the property of the other. I do not, however, attribute either of these mistatements to any intention of deceiving, because they give no additional strength to his reasoning, and therefore could have been occasioned solely by the great carelessness and inaccuracy with which he wrote.

That an equivalence of characters in one use of them is not at all inconsistent with their being equivalent in the other use, may be easily shown by an example. Suppose then that graphic images of a car, a camel, and a canoe, were phonetically employed; and that the names of those objects begun with the same articulate sound in the Egyptian language as in English; the three characters would in this case be homophones, and any one of them indifferently might be applied to denoting either the consonantal power of C, or any simple syllable commencing with C. But suppose these three signs were found to be also exchangeable, one for the other, in the general text outside the cartouches; then the investigator must examine what property could be connected in common with the three objects, and he would light upon some such notion as travelling, or conveyance, or motion, &c. Here it is evident that the greater the number and variety of equivalent characters, the more easy it would be,

from the restrictions thus put on the common property, to arrive at it. So that if the statement made by M. Champollion were strictly true, viz. that all characters which express the same consonant or same articulate sound in the proper names, are interchangeable, one for another, in the general texts; the circumstance would afford great assistance towards discovering the ideagraphic significations of such characters. But the fact rests only on this writer's testimony, and cannot therefore be relied on: the probability is, that he found it held in some few instances, and thence inferred that it held in all; a mode of reasoning which was very commonly adopted by him.

As to his favourite position, which he grounds upon this fact, it has been frequently contradicted by his own practice. Instances of a great number of characters to which this giddy writer attributed sometimes phonetic powers, and at other times ideagraphic significations, are given in the *Examen Critique* of M. Klaproth; to which very accurate and judicious work I refer the reader for information on this as well as several other inconsistencies of the author of the *Précis*. The knowledge of Coptic here displayed has been applied to a useful purpose in detecting the coinage of several words by M. Champollion, fabricated by him for the purpose of propping up his phonetic system.^a But the chief advantage to be derived from M. Klaproth's proficiency in Coptic, appears to me to consist in the aid it affords us towards ascertaining the direction which ought to be given to hieroglyphic investigations. For if he has been unable to decipher a single Egyptian text, considered as phonetically written, surely no one else can ever hope to effect this by such knowledge of Coptic as is to be collected from the scanty remnants of the language now extant; and we ought to

^a "—— ce savant [M. Champollion] en traduisant la moindre phrase a été contraint, pour y réussir, d'inventer des mots qui ne sont pas coptes, et qu'il ne peut justifier par aucune autorité."—*Examen Critique*, p. 22. For the numerous instances of this, given by M. Klaproth, I refer to the *Examen* itself.

turn our attention to some other means of carrying on the inquiry.

M. Klaproth, indeed, does not himself consider the matter in this point of view; and, notwithstanding the great number of fallacies and absurdities which he detected in the works of M. Champollion, still clings to the phonetic system which this writer advocated; attributing none of those faults to the system itself, but all of them to its supporter. Hence he perseveres in looking on an improvement in the knowledge of Coptic as the indispensable means of advancing hieroglyphic studies; and recommends that materials should be collected abroad for the formation of a new Lexicon of that language. Upon these two points he writes as follows: "On ne pourra, en effet, se promettre d'y [that is, in hieroglyphic investigations] faire de véritables progrès, sans une connaissance approfondie de la langue copte. Pour acquérir celle-ci, l'excellente grammaire de M. Tattam et le vocabulaire très-incomplet de La Croze ne suffisent pas. Il faut savoir l'arabe pour pouvoir consulter les dictionnaires originaux, dans lesquels les mots coptes sont expliqués dans cette langue, et pour étudier les nombreux textes coptes accompagnés de versions arabes. Ainsi pour avancer les études égyptiennes, il serait bien à désirer que quelque homme capable et riche, puisqu'il faut faire des voyages pour cela, entreprît la rédaction d'un lexique copte, aussi complet que possible, et qu'il le publiât."—pp. 174, 175. I confess it appears to me that the undertaking here recommended would prove entirely fruitless, even supposing the hieroglyphic texts were really phonetic. For the materials that could now be expected to be found in Egypt or the neighbouring countries, would surely not be the old Græco-Coptic, but the Arabico-Coptic; and if, after one great transmutation, it is difficult to recover any elements of the original language, to search for them after the second great alteration would be an utterly hopeless project. Hardly any greater knowledge therefore of the ancient Egyptian tongue can now be expected than has been already attained; and that knowledge has been found quite unavailing in the solution of the

hieroglyphic problem. Here then I close my general argument against the phonetic theory, which I must look upon as that of the French School of Archeography, since it is maintained by M. Klaproth. However, I should be very sorry to attribute to him, or to the school of which he is so distinguished an ornament, any intention of countenancing the infidel tenets of M. Champollion; but, at the same time, it has appeared to me that the most simple and direct mode of refuting those tenets is to withdraw from them the support of the theory upon which they have been grounded.

Against this theory, respecting the nature of hieroglyphic writing, I have adduced, 1. the testimony of some ancient authors, who are most to be relied upon for accuracy and acquaintance with the subject; 2. circumstances immediately connected with the writing itself, bearing very strongly on the question; 3. the extreme futility of the arguments employed to prove that writing phonetic; 4. the ill success of all attempts to explain it on that hypothesis, although the problem has been in the hands of a most ingenious people—perhaps the most ingenious in the world—now for above thirty-five years since they got the help of the Rosetta inscription, and fifteen since they obtained that of Young's discovery.

I shall now proceed to a more particular examination of the Egyptian system of writing, in reference to the above question; and I am in hopes that if any doubts upon the subject may still remain in the reader's mind, they will be removed by the perusal of the next four chapters.

As Coptic words are occasionally inserted in this Work, the Alphabet employed in writing them is here subjoined for the convenience of such Readers as may not already be acquainted with it.

Name.	Form.	Power.	Name.	Form.	Power.
Alpha,	Α α	A	Pi,	Π π	P
Vida,	Β β	V	Ro,	Ρ ρ	R
Gamma,	Γ γ	G	Sima,	Σ σ	S
Dalda,	Δ δ	D	Dau,	Τ τ †	T
Ei,	Ε ε	E	He,	Υ υ	E or U
So,	Ϛ ϛ	S	Phi,	Φ φ	F
Zida,	Ζ ζ	Z	Khi,	Χ χ	Kh
Hida,	Η η	I or E	Ebsi,	Ψ ψ	Ps
Thita,	Θ θ	Th	O,	Ω ω	O
Iauda,	Ι ι	I	Shei,	Υ υ	Sh
Kabba,	Κ κ	K	Fei,	Ϙ ϙ	F
Lauda,	Λ λ	L	Khei,	ϛ Ϝ	Kh
Mi,	Υ υ	M	Hori,	Ϛ ϛ	H
Ni,	Η η	N	Giangia,	Χ χ	Gi
Exi,	Ξ ξ	X	Scima,	Ϛ ϛ	Sc
O,	Ο ο	O	Dei,	Ϙ ϙ	D

CHAPTER IV.

HIEROGLYPHIC DISCOVERY OF THE LATE DR. THOMAS YOUNG—TRUE NATURE OF THE PHONETIC POWERS WITH WHICH THE HIEROGLYPHS WERE EMPLOYED BY THE EGYPTIANS—LIMITATIONS TO THE ANTIQUITY OF THEIR PHONETIC SYSTEM, DERIVED FROM COMPARING—
1. THE CARTOUCHES PHONETICALLY WRITTEN—2. THE CATALOGUES OF THE ANCIENT SOVEREIGNS OF EGYPT.

HOWEVER interesting the study of the Egyptian legends may be, both for the ingenuity immediately brought into action by an effort to decipher them, and for the display of great metaphysical acumen which it presents to us in some of the works that have been written upon this subject; still the occupation can be considered only as one of mere amusement; for the most successful solution of the hieroglyphic problem that can possibly be imagined, would be attended with no solid advantage. The complete deciphering of the later insculptures could give us no fact of any material consequence, with which we were not already acquainted through the accounts transmitted by Greek and Latin authors; it is only to the older records therefore that we should look for matter of curious and important information. Now if all the hieroglyphic documents which existed in the time of Manetho were at this moment before us in a state of perfect preservation, and if we had the key to reading them as completely as this Egyptian high priest possessed it, they would not afford us any historical instruction of even the slightest value. If indeed we had, in addition, his traditional and his local knowledge, we certainly should derive from the documents in question, a very minute and accurate detail of what took place in Egypt in his own times and those immediately preceding. The accounts, however, would become less and less clear to us as they reached further back, and before they ex-

tended the space of some two or three hundred years from the age in which he lived, we should find them totally unintelligible and useless. But suppose that we had barely Manetho's power of hieroglyphic reading, without either of the extrinsic aids which I have mentioned; then the descriptions we should arrive at, would, from first to last, be involved in impenetrable obscurity and confusion. For the legends would present us only with narratives of events respecting which we should still remain ignorant, both of the places where they occurred and of the agents engaged in them; and as to those agents, we should not only be at a loss for their names, but we should very frequently be unable to determine a point of yet greater importance, viz. whether, in a train of recorded transactions, it was by the same or by different individuals they were conducted. But before I can hope to satisfy my reader of this result, I must first enter upon a review of the late Dr. Thomas Young's discovery, in order to ascertain how far it has been legitimately established, and where it has been pushed beyond its just limits.

When this very ingenious writer commenced his examination of the inscriptions on the Rosetta pillar two errors prevailed, which, strange to say, contributed to the success of his researches. The first was, that the Enchorial inscription was wholly alphabetic. Men, accustomed themselves to such writing, conceived, as has been already observed, that whatever graphic system was any where in common use, must necessarily have been of this nature; no matter what may have been the peculiar circumstances of the country in which it was employed. Now although the position was wrong as to the general text of the Enchorial inscription, yet it was in some degree right as to the portions of it denoting proper names; in which a phonetic, though not, strictly speaking, an alphabetic, use of the characters was made. But it was naturally to those very portions that attention was first directed, because difference of language could make no material difference in such names; and it was evident that if a group of Egyptian characters could be found expressing the sound of a Greek word, then, by resolving this group

into its constituent parts, the phonetic powers of the separate characters would be ascertained. It was guided by these views that M. Silvestre de Sacy searched for and detected in the Enchorial inscription three well defined groups, representing the proper names, *Alexander*, *Alexandria*, and *Ptolemy*; and that Mr. Akerblad succeeded, by an examination of those groups, in determining the phonetic powers of some ten or twelve Enchorial characters; nothing more having been discovered at the time when the investigation was taken up by Dr. Young. The second error in which he shared in common with others was, that the Coptic was the language of the ancient Egyptians. In consequence of this mistake he made himself master of the remains of that language, as they are transmitted to us in some ecclesiastical works of the third and fourth centuries; for he had already with great ingenuity ascertained the meaning of several groups of the Enchorial characters, and he was in hopes, by the aid of the additional knowledge now acquired by him, to be able to construct such an alphabet as would show that the whole inscription was a record, written in the ancient language of the country.^a This was a most difficult undertaking with

^a The double mistake, the attempt and the failure, may, I think, be collected from the following passage of his treatise, published in the Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica: "But no effort, however determined and persevering, had been able to discover any alphabet which could fairly be said to render the [Enchorial] inscription, in general, at all like what was required to make its language intelligible Egyptian; although most of the proper names seemed to exhibit a tolerable agreement with the forms of letters indicated by Mr. Akerblad."—Vol. iv. p. 54. Here the old Egyptian *language*, in which Dr. Young, at the time of his attempt, conceived that the Enchorial inscription was alphabetically written, is evidently identified with one that was accessible to himself, viz. with the Coptic; and although he sometimes speaks of the traces of the Egyptian, yet this expression makes no distinction between the two languages, but is equally applicable to one as the other, for, in fact, we have now in our hands no more than what may be called traces of the Coptic. Indeed all through the treatise he appears to speak of the Coptic and ancient Egyptian languages as if they were the same. He does not, however, make the like confusion of Coptic and Egyptian

such scanty materials as he had to work upon; yet still it was one in which, from his extraordinary sagacity, there is reason to think he would have succeeded, had it been at all practicable.^a

writing, for he expresses his opinion, “that the introduction of the Coptic character was only coëval with that of Christianity.”—*Ubi supra*, p. 38. He was quite right in not assigning to its introduction an older date; but, I conceive, he might have brought it down somewhat later, because Clemens Alexandrinus, who gives so very particular an account of the different kinds of writing used in his time in Egypt, although he speaks of hieroglyphic characters employed with phonetic powers, yet does not mention any Egyptian writing that was purely alphabetic, and consequently the Coptic letters could not have come into use till after the age in which he lived.

^a The investigating powers which he displayed in his subsequent Enchorial researches, warrant, I conceive, this opinion. Indeed what he therein effected appears to afford a far more surprising proof of talent than his hieroglyphic discovery. For instance, one cannot avoid being astonished at his making out the meaning of an Enchorial manuscript of some length, without the help of any translation, and actually without knowing the exact nature and use of the characters in which it was written, excepting those employed to denote proper names; and yet there can be little doubt but that he succeeded to a considerable extent in this task, since his explanation was in the main verified by a Greek translation afterwards found. However it would be too great a digression from my subject to enter into any detail upon the point, and it would, besides, be a superfluous labour, as accounts of it are already before the public in books of easy access. I admit that the sameness of the general subject to which all the Enchorial MSS. are confined, lessens the difficulty of getting at the meaning of any one of them; “les papyrus, que quelques personnes peu éclairées prennent pour des livres, n’offrent qu’une perpétuelle répétition des mêmes formules toujours relatives au même sujet, la mort et ses conséquences.”—*Exam. Crit.* p. 18. Still there is quite a sufficient variety in the particulars of the circumstances to which the different MSS. relate, to render Dr. Young’s success in the instance to which I have alluded, truly wonderful; and the fact of the information thence derived being of very little value does not at all lessen our estimate of the ingenuity which must have been brought into play upon the occasion. It is also to be noticed, and the circumstance is very remarkable, that his researches were extended with equal success to subjects of quite a different kind. Many branches of physical science have received important accessions at his hands. But it was in his discoveries concerning the nature and properties of light that the penetrating and original character of his genius seems to have been most fully displayed. He it was who revived the theory of

But the fact is, that *both* the principles on which he proceeded were, in the extent in which they were taken in this problem, erroneous; and the inevitable consequence was that the attempt turned out a total failure.

The first of the positions however, as I have before observed, was, in a loose sense of the term "alphabetic," true when limited to proper names; and it was useful to Dr. Young, not only in supplying him with the ground-work of all his archeographic discoveries, but also in suggesting a very leading step in their progress. For after he had verified the observations of Messieurs de Sacy and Akerblad, and had fully ascertained that Greek proper names were written in the Enchorial characters, it occurred to him to try whether they were not written in the hieroglyphic ones also. This he had some ground for suspecting he should find to be the case; for, after he had utterly failed in his effort to reduce the general text of the Enchorial inscription to any alphabetic system, the similarity of some of the characters which had struck him in the course of the examination suggested, that the one set might, by the loose imitation of running-hand practice, have been derived from the other; and it was very natural to search in the original for a phenomenon that had been previously detected in the copy. Accordingly he set to work, and, in a manner quite convincing, made out that a very remarkable group of hieroglyphs, surrounded by

Huygens, which seemed to have sunk under the opposition of Newton and Laplace; and he brought forward whole classes of new facts, which lent it an unexpected support. The fertile principle of *Interference* is due to his sagacity, and he was the first to suggest the theory of *transversal vibrations*: a theory which, developed in the hands of Fresnel, has not only afforded a clue to the explanation of the known phenomena of polarized light, but has even led to the anticipation of many others which had been before unobserved. To complete the picture, however, and enable us to form a just notion of the full extent of his talent, it should be added, that he engaged in those different investigations under all the difficulties and disadvantages of poverty, while he was frequently compelled to write anonymous articles for the periodical publications in order to support himself, and put to other shifts to earn a precarious and a scanty subsistence.

a cartouche, and appearing in several places of the uppermost inscription (see Plate I. Fig. 2.), was actually a representation of the Greek name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ. If then the correspondent parts of these two groups of characters were known, the phonetic powers of the hieroglyphs in the former group would be immediately ascertained. But before it could be discovered which parts corresponded, it was necessary that two points should be determined. 1. In what order the hieroglyphs should be taken; 2. the number of the hieroglyphs not being exactly the same as that of either the syllables or letters in the name, and it being consequently impossible to effect the adjustment by ranking them all under the one class or under the other; which of them should be made to tally with syllables, and which with single letters, of the Greek collection. And here his knowledge of the Coptic, which had proved quite useless for the immediate purpose for which he had learned it, came in most efficiently to his aid, for the settlement, of the first point correctly, and of the second with a close approximation to the truth. It now remains to be considered why he was not here foiled in consequence of his mistake as to the nature of the language, and how it happened that the second erroneous opinion, as well as the first, led him to a result very nearly correct.

The remark may be made, and I believe it will be generally found to hold good, that words are little liable to change, either if they be names of objects in constant ordinary use, or if they be short, particularly if they be monosyllables; but when both qualifications are united the sounds become nearly immutable, so that even in their passage into a derivative language they scarcely suffer any alteration. Thus, for instance, in English almost all the words of this kind are very nearly the same as in the German or in the Norman French,^a the great majority of

^a Sir Walter Scott has somewhere observed—I believe it is in the beautiful tale of *Ivanhoe*—that such words as *ox*, *bull*, *cow*, *calf*, *sheep*, *swine*, *sow*, are, with very little variation from their originals, derived from the German; while *beef*, *veal*, *mutton*, *pork*, are similarly related to the Norman

them belonging to the former, as being the mother tongue. Hence most of the German sentences that contain only such terms, can be easily understood by an Englishman;^a and if we take out of an English passage the words of French origin, the

French. And he endeavoured to account for the fact—playfully indeed, but perhaps not the less truly—by supposing that the poor Saxons had to rear the cattle, but that their Norman conquerors ate the meat. It is hard now to imagine that in happy England any large class of inhabitants could ever have been so badly circumstanced as the Saxons are here represented to have been; but, admitting the hypothesis, the inference drawn from it by Sir Walter exactly agrees with my theory. The names of things in familiar use with each party have been preserved, and retained in the daughter language, while all the others have been exchanged. Here it may be interesting to the reader to have placed before him the observation made upon the same subject by another remarkable man. In the preface to the *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, written by the English mathematician, Dr. John Wallis, the following passage occurs: “Nec quidem temere contigisse puto, quod animalia viva nominibus Germanicæ originis vocemus, quorum tamen carnem in cibum paratam originis Gallicæ nominibus appellamus; puta, bovem, vaccam, vitulum, ovem, porcum, aprum, feram, &c., *an ox, a cow, a calf, a sheep, a hog, a boar, a deer, &c.*; sed carnem bubulam, vitulinam, ovinam, porcina, aprugnam, ferinam; *beef, veal, mutton, pork, brawn, venison, &c.* Sed hinc id ortum putaverim, quod Normanni milites pascuis, caulis, haris, locisque quibus vivorum animalium cura agebatur, parcius se immiscuerint (quæ itaque antiqua nomina retinuerunt); quam macellis, culinis, mensis, epulis, ubi vel parabantur vel habebantur cibi, qui itaque nova nomina ab illis sunt adepti.” This account of the matter does not differ much from that given by Sir Walter; and both the Englishman and the Scotchman, it may be seen, bear me out as to one of the causes to which I have attributed the great durability of certain words.

^a I here subjoin a few German sentences, consisting of words such as I have been describing, and I give them in the Roman character, in order that an English reader, who has never before seen any German, may form his own judgment on the above remark. Wo ist meine Mutter? Sie ist in der Kirche. Gieb mir ein glas wein. Hier ist er, mein Herr. Wein ist besser als wasser. Mein Bruder sprang gestern ins wasser und schwamm. Georg! hole mir ein licht, und bring mir papier, feder, und dinte; Ich will einen brief schreiben. I have chosen the last sentence here to show, with respect to the Germans, their own confession, that their present writing is no invention of theirs. For although they pride themselves upon their language being an original one, yet we find here the names of paper, letter, writing, all of them derived from a foreign tongue—from Latin.

remaining ones of the description under consideration will, with very few exceptions, be found to be German. Now, as I conceive, the Coptic has to the ancient Egyptian and the Greek engrafted on the parent stock, the same relation that English has to German and the Norman French. When therefore the words of obviously Greek origin are abstracted, those that are left, which are both short, and also names of common, familiar objects, are in all probability the same as their synonymes in the language of the ancient Egyptians; and, as far as the nature of the case admits of such proof, this inference is borne out and confirmed by actual observation. For instance, the Bible has preserved to us a very old Egyptian word—*Pharaoh*—which is short, and must have been in constant use among the people of Egypt, as it was in their tongue the royal title (for that it was not a mere proper name, is evident from the number of different sovereigns to whom, in the Scriptures, it is applied; and besides the testimony of Manetho, as to its titular signification, is recorded in the Chronicon of Eusebius). This word, therefore, affords an opportunity of experimentally trying, in reference to the ancient Egyptian language, the correctness of the rule in question. But we shall find that in the Coptic, *Oupo*, *ouro*, signified “King;” and, with the article, *Ποupo*, *pouro*, or *Φοupo*, *phouro*, “the King.” So that in the lapse of above eighteen hundred years, from the time when the Pentateuch was written, and after the transition of the word into a derivative tongue, it appears to have suffered no change except in its vowel sounds. Now it is to be observed, that it was precisely for words of this nature that Dr. Young searched in the Coptic. For the hieroglyphs on the Rosetta stone are generally images of objects familiar to the sight, or of frequent recurrence to the imagination, and it occurred to him, that if he could find, in the language which he supposed was spoken by the ancient Egyptians, brief names of the things delineated, these would exhibit the powers of some, at least, of the characters phonetically employed; in the same way as the sounds composing a foreign name are expressed by the modern Chinese. The re-

sult has proved this analogic position, when modified in a certain manner, to be just, though he made some wrong applications of it, which he left to be corrected by the observations of those who followed in the track that had been pointed out by him. Thus from the history of the investigation it appears, that two erroneous principles actually led the way to a right conclusion; and did so, not as sometimes occurs in physico-mathematical computations, by a mutual counteraction and compensation of errors, but in consequence of each separate one being, by the nature of the problem—and not at all by the judgment of the investigator—confined within limits, which rendered it very nearly true.

To illustrate this sketch, it will be necessary to refer, in addition to the group of characters already mentioned, to a second one, also surrounded by a cartouche (see Plate I. Fig. 3). This group Dr. Young made out to represent, in its aggregate phonetic power, the name *Berenice*, by finding it in the plates of the *Description de l'Egypte*, placed in a legend immediately between the former group and characters which he had ascertained to signify “the Saviour Gods.” Hence he inferred, that the second group denoted the Queen of the Ptolemy who was surnamed Soter, or Saviour; but this personage was called Berenice. Had our investigator previously known that every hieroglyphic group expressing the name of a female, was terminated or preceded by an oval and a semicircle, their appearance here would have corroborated his inference, but he could not have arrived at this fact till after he had analyzed the group in question; and in all probability he was led to the discovery of it by means of this very analysis. I shall now endeavour to trace the steps by which it is likely that he made out the phonetic powers of the separate characters in each group, after he had ascertained the names which those groups, taken in their totality, denoted.

The lion in the middle of the former group, being the most conspicuous character therein, his attention was probably first turned to it, and its immediate name in Coptic would have sup-

plied him by its initial articulation with the L which occurs in the central part of *Ptolemaios*; but he appears to have been anxious to get, at the very outset of his analysis, a phonetic value that would correspond with as much as possible of the Greek word; he in consequence extended his researches to the names of animals which could in any respect be classed with this one, and having found OILI the Coptic for a ram, and EIUL that for a stag, he assumed that the hieroglyphic figure of the lion stood for OLE. Again he found MA the Coptic for "place;" and he discovered that the character under the lion had some reference to this idea, because it occurs in the Rosetta inscription as part of a combination expressing "wherever"; he thence inferred its phonetic power to be MA, which fitted in nicely for him in the Greek name immediately after the OLE. Thus he made out that where the characters are in a vertical line they are, like the Chinese writing, to be read from top to bottom; but still he must have been at a loss for the order in which those in horizontal lines should be taken. Most probably it was a comparison of the two groups which enabled him to settle this point; for the pair of feathers being common to those groups, it was natural to try what pair of letters, or single letter, was common to the names, and thence the two hieroglyphs under consideration would be deduced equivalent in power to the vowel I. This much being determined, the phonetic powers of the remaining characters were easily fixed. The left hand extremity of the group must be the end of it, and there being only one character here as yet unappropriated, this must have assigned to it, as its phonetic power, the final syllable of *Ptolemaios*. The right hand extremity is the beginning of the group, and of the two figures here placed in a vertical line, the upper one must be the first; the little square therefore is equivalent to P, and the semicircle to T. Thus all the characters had their phonetic powers settled except the third one, and as he found this was sometimes left out of the group, he assumed that it was not phonetically employed, but that it served some less essential purpose, suppose that of an accent or aspirate. With

respect to the second group, he found that BIR was the Coptic for a basket with a handle, and KENESOU that for a goose; which at once fixed for him the beginning and ending of the part of the group that immediately denoted *Berenikē*, and he inferred that the little image of the former object stood for BIR, and that of the latter for KĒ. The two feathers had already assigned to them the phonetic power of I; so there remained just two letters for the two unappropriated characters preceding those feathers, but none for the one immediately following them. The former two then being taken in their proper order, that under the basket signified an E, and the one over the feathers an N; while the little footstool, according to this disposition, turned out to be an unphonetic character, like the inflected loop or knot of the former group. The two characters which remained after the termination of the name he took to be employed as indications of the sex of the person to whom the name belonged; which could only be considered, in the first instance, as an ingenious conjecture of his; but has since been fully verified by induction. Another inference, which he probably at first drew solely from those two groups, has been in like manner completely established. For after he had ascertained the order in which the characters should be taken in each group, he observed that in the former they proceeded in the direction from the front of the lion towards his rear, and likewise in the latter, from the front of the goose to the rear; and as he found that generally in the same legend all the zoographic characters faced the same way, he concluded that in every such text the figures in horizontal lines should be read by beginning at the extremity, towards which those figures faced.

I know not whether I shall be excused for dwelling so long on a subject, which has now been for some years before the public, and which can be considered only as one of mere curiosity, not leading to any valuable result. I have no apology to offer but the amusement I felt in endeavouring to trace the probable line of the progress of this discovery in the mind of its very in-

genious author; and the hope that following the track might not be uninteresting to my readers. For the information, however, of those not already acquainted with the subject, it is right to add, that the above sketch will give but a faint idea of the sagacity which was exhibited in the working of the problem; as my object has rather been to investigate its facilities, and point out where one step might be naturally expected to follow another. The difficulties of the task, and the ability exerted in surmounting them, though not prominently or ostentatiously put forward by the inventor, will yet be best understood by a reference to his own account of the matter.

The group which was next analyzed is marked in the same Plate as No. 4; and the determination of the phonetic powers of its separate characters served to corroborate the right conclusions of Dr. Young respecting the two former groups, and to correct the wrong ones.^a That, in its aggregate phonetic value, this group denoted the name *Kleopatra*, was ascertained as follows: it appears in the insculptures on an obelisk, on the base of which a Greek inscription was discovered, recording, in sub-

^a M. Champollion observed that the last character in the hieroglyphic name of *Berenikē* ought to be, not a goose, but an eagle or hawk, as the phonetic power of the former bird was not an *ē* but an *S*; for it may be seen to be the initial character in *Sebastē*, the imperial title of the wife of Adrian. He accounted for the mistake as follows: "L'auteur du dessin des légendes inscrites sur la grande porte du sud à Karnac, où se trouve gravé le nom de la reine Bérénice, dessin publié dans la *Description de l'Égypte*, a mis par erreur une *oie* là où le monument original porte un *aigle* ou un *épervier*."—Note in p. 32. If he was right in this correction of the group, the same character denotes an *a* in the name of *Kleopatra* which expresses an *ē* in that of *Berenikē*. The Egyptians also employed an extended arm to represent indifferently an *a* or *e*, as they used the two feathers for either *ē* or *ī*; and the Arabians, in like manner, to this day confound *a* with *e*, and *e* with *i*. In the case of this latter people, the abuse is to be accounted for partly by their very inaccurate notions on the subject, and partly by their having but three signs (whether letters or points) for all their vowels; but in the former case it can be attributed to ignorance alone, as the Egyptians had a superabundance of signs for the vowels under consideration.

stance a petition from the priests of Isis, at Philæ, to king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra. The circumstance of the two inscriptions being found on the same monument suggested the idea that they related to the same subject^a, and a slight examination of the upper one was quite sufficient to establish this point, and along with it the collective signification of the group in question. For among the hieroglyphs were observed two very conspicuous groups close to each other, and surrounded by cartouches; of which the one which was higher up, and so first to be read, was the identical group already ascertained to denote *Ptolemaios*; the characters in it being the same and in the same order as before described, with no other difference than that of being placed in a vertical line, instead of a horizontal one. Of course, as the two inscriptions tallied as to the first name, there could be no doubt of their doing so as to the second also; particularly as the under or second hieroglyphic group was found to have the termination indicative of a name belonging to a female. The group having been thus ascertained collectively to express the name *Kleopatra*, the analysis of the phonetic powers of its separate parts was particularly easy; for after deducting the feminine termination already pointed out, the remaining hieroglyphs were exactly the same in number as the letters of the Greek word; and the order in which those hieroglyphs should be taken having been also

^a This ingenious suggestion originated with M. Letronne. The monument itself, which has contributed so much to the verification of Dr. Young's discovery, and to the establishment of the phonetic system, as far as it has been justly applied, was found by Mr. Wm. J. Bankes at the southern extremity of Egypt, in the isle of Philæ, in the Nile, and by his spirited exertions was brought to England. To this gentleman are antiquarians also indebted for the genealogical table of Abydos, which he disinterred in getting excavations made for the purpose of tracing the extensive ruins of that ancient city. And the copy of the record which he brought home with him was subsequently verified by a comparison with those taken by two other travellers. In Egyptian researches the table of Abydos has had fully as much value attached to it as the obelisk of Philæ.

already pointed out, nothing remained to be done for determining the power of each of them but merely to compare it with the letter to which it corresponded in the name, as is exhibited in the two lines facing fig. 4 in the first plate. So easy was the operation here to be performed; yet in it Dr. Young, strange to say, failed,^a and M. Champollion succeeded. The success in this instance of the latter person, as it was the occasion of his conversion to the phonetic system which he had been shortly before opposing in a work published by him at Grenoble^b, so is it the sole ground for his having any claim to a share in the original discovery. But the slightest consideration will show that even in this first essay of his in the right road he acted not as a discoverer, but merely as a verifier of a discovery already made. It is true that only a few of the hieroglyphs phonetically used had their powers as yet ascertained, but the means, as above described, of ascertaining them, were supplied. Still farther it must be admitted, that the correctness of these means

^a Dr. Young accounted for his failure as follows in his publication of 1823: "It so happens that in the lithographical sketch of the obelisk of Philæ, which had been put into my hands by its adventurous and liberal possessor, the artist has expressed the first letter of the name of Cleopatra by a T instead of a K [that is, by a semicircle instead of a quadrant], and as I had no leisure at the time to enter into a very minute comparison of the name with other authorities, I suffered myself to be discouraged with respect to the application of my alphabet to its analysis."—p. 49.

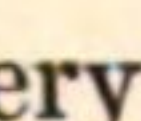
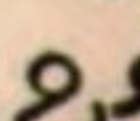
^b Dr. Young's discovery had been given anonymously to the world in Dec. 1819 in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, article *Egypt*. In 1821 M. Champollion published at Grenoble his work entitled *De l'Écriture hiératique des anciens Égyptiens*, in which he maintained, among other points, "—que ce second système n'est qu'une simple modification du système hiéroglyphique, et n'en diffère uniquement que par la forme des signes—que les caractères hieratiques (et par conséquent aussi ceux dont ils dérivent) sont des signes de choses et non des signes de sons."—*Examen Crit.* pp. 4—5. In January, 1822, Mr. Banks sent to Paris a lithographic copy of the hieroglyphs on the obelisk of Philæ; and in the September of that same year came out M. Champollion's letter to M. Dacier, in which he claimed the credit of being the original discoverer of the phonetic use of signs made by the Egyptians.

had not yet been established by proof, but they were pointed out to the notice of any subsequent investigator, and all he had to do was to verify them by induction, which was quite a subordinate office to that of discovering them.

In the first chapter of his *Précis*, M. Champollion contends for the *priority* of *his* discovery as compared with that of Dr. Young; and it is very amusing to observe how, in his eagerness to establish this point, he makes use of an argument which directly proves that he did not act the part of a discoverer at all in the process. Thus, for instance, after giving Dr. Young's analysis of the hieroglyphic group representing the name Bere-nikē, he proceeds as follows: "Dans mon système, au contraire, le premier caractère, qui n'est point une corbeille, mais bien la capolette dans laquelle on brûlait l'encens, n'exprime pas la syllabe BIR, mais seulement la consonne B; car ce même hiéroglyphe est aussi le B du titre Σεβαστος, comme le B du nom propre Τιβεριος."—p. 31. Now as it is hard to decide, from its appearance, whether this hieroglyph be the image of a basket with a handle, or of an incense pan, so it is quite indifferent to the argument which object it was intended for; and in all probability M. Champollion made a change here merely to avoid, as much as possible, the appearance of borrowing from the real inventor. Still it must be admitted, that if the Egyptian name of the second object began with a B, it would answer as well as the Coptic BIR for the application of the method which had been already given to the world. It is also true, but equally irrelative to the question at issue, that the phonetic power of the character, as fixed by Young, required correction. But all that is material to consider in the contrast here attempted to be made is, how M. Champollion states that he himself arrived at the power of that character. It deserves then to be remarked, that in his own account of the matter he does not mention, as employed by him, any process of analysis, but merely one of verification, which, it is certain, could not be applied till after an invention had been made: for he could not compare the phonetic powers of this character in the three groups to which he

alludes, till after he had found out separately a power of such nature for it in some one of them in a manner quite independent of and anterior to the comparison. The obvious inference from his own statement I take to be a just representation of what was really accomplished by each party. Dr. Young made out the discovery in the rough cast; and M. Champollion, by applying it to different cases, and comparing the results, was enabled to point out some corrections of the use already made of it, as well as to effect a considerable extension of the number of characters thus ascertained to be phonetically employed.

M. Champollion dwells with great complacency on the above-mentioned argument as a proof of the *superiority* of his invention (and this *superiority* again he connects some how or other with its *priority*); accordingly he repeats it in more instances than one. Thus in contrasting his mode of finding out the phonetic power of the lion with Dr. Young's, he writes: "Pour moi, observant que le lion, troisième signe du nom hiéroglyphique de Ptolémée, était aussi le second signe du nom hiéroglyphique de Cléopâtre, je reconnus cet hiéroglyphe pour être tout simplement le signe de la consonne L."—p. 25. And he informs us that he discovered the phonetic value of the character under the lion as follows: "Dans mon système, j'ai reconnu ce caractère pour M hiéroglyphique, d'abord parce que tous les autres élémens qui forment le nom de Ptolémée étant bien fixés, ce signe devait en être forcément le M; en second lieu, parce que je le retrouvais, et avec cette même valeur, dans divers autres noms greco-romains."—p. 26. It is plain from his own statement in these two instances, as well as in the first, that while he was endeavouring to establish the superiority of his invention he in reality was proving that he acted in the business not at all as an inventor, but merely as a verifier and corrector of a discovery which must have been at first made out by some method quite different from that pursued by himself. Nor upon this occasion does his veracity appear to more advantage than his power of reasoning: for in depreciating Dr. Young's method, in order to raise in the scale of comparison that which

he would have us consider as quite a different one, and his own, he, among other points, endeavoured to deprive the Englishman of the credit of having rightly made out the phonetic power of the character which has been last alluded to; and with this view he made the bold assertion which appears at the close of the following extract: “Le caractère suivant (le 5^e. du nom hieroglyphique de Ptolémée) est connu, poursuit le savant Anglais, pour avoir quelque rapport à l'idée, *place*, *lieu*, en copte MA ; et il semble avoir été lu MA ou simplement M——. J' avoue d'abord que je n'ai jamais observé, soit dans l'inscription de Rosette, soit ailleurs, que le cinquième caractère du nom hieroglyphique de Ptolémée fût employé dans un groupe, ou bien seul, pour exprimer l'idée *lieu* ou *place*”— p. 26. I have here prefixed to his avowal the part of the preceding sentence to which it immediately refers, in order to show its full meaning; for it is given as a refutation of the statement of the savant Anglais, and consequently amounts to a declaration not merely that he had never found the character in question to signify the idea of *place*, but that he had never found it bearing a signification which had any reference whatever to that idea. Now to judge of the value of his testimony, and the stress which should be laid on this avowal, we have only to turn to No. 36 in the book of plates connected with the *Précis*, where we shall find the following observation made by him on the very character before us: “ répond au copte , dans, préposition.” That is, this character, equivalent to the Coptic letter M, corresponds in meaning to the Coptic monosyllable denoting *in*, *within*, and consequently has in its signification an immediate and direct reference to the idea of *place*.

Opposite to the groups analyzed by Dr. Young, are placed, in three lines, first, the hieroglyphs in the order which he pointed out for their arrangement; next, the phonetic powers which he assigned to them, each immediately under its correspondent character; and in the lowest line the corrections of those powers, as derived from subsequent observations, and chiefly from the very next analysis that was made. From the

corrections it may be perceived, in corroboration of a remark already made, that Dr. Young might, by means of the Coptic monosyllables BIR and MA, have fixed the phonetic powers of the correspondent hieroglyphs as accurately as if he had access to the old Egyptian words of the same signification, from which, in all probability, these monosyllables scarcely differed in any respect. And still farther it may be seen that he was led into material error only by the terms KENESOU and OILI; the former being a long, and evidently a compound word; and the latter not being selected according to his own rule, as it is not the immediate name of the object represented by the hieroglyph. Besides OILI being more modern Coptic, its identity with the synonymous term of the ancient Egyptian language could be less depended on. Upon the whole it is to be observed, of the use which he made of Coptic in analyzing the two groups, that he applied his knowledge of it, not to discovering the name designated by either group, but merely to distributing among its constituent characters such powers as would make up this name, after it had been previously discovered by other means. Even in this guarded use of the language he fell (as has been just accounted for) into mistakes; which, however, were not eventually of any importance, because the aggregate sound of the whole group being already known, the errors of distribution were easily corrected by subsequent comparison of the assigned powers to those found in like manner for the same characters in other groups. This observation points out the conditions requisite for the legitimate application of his method; 1. the group to be analyzed must be known to be phonetically written; 2. if the great majority of its characters be not such as have had their phonetic powers previously ascertained, then the name designated by the entire collection must, by some means quite independent of those characters, be accurately known. Both these conditions have been fulfilled in the investigation of Greek and Roman denominations; but, as shall be shown in the next chapter, neither of them could be complied with in the

effort to decipher the names of the more ancient sovereigns of Egypt.

The corrected powers of the two groups, as marked in the plate, will be found different from those given by M. Champollion; for he, on ascertaining that the several characters in the third group were used with the powers of single Greek letters, came at once to the conclusion that they were always so employed. But in this he was quite mistaken: the Egyptians in their phonetic practice generally gave their characters syllabic powers, and never used them as consonants except in the comparatively few instances in which they were followed by hieroglyphs denoting vowels. Hence the ground is utterly fallacious on which M. Champollion relied so much for establishing the superiority of what he called his invention over that of Dr. Young; and in fixing the powers of the characters in the two groups the latter really came nearer to a right decision than the former. At the same time it is but just to state, that in comparing the two writers, the Englishman is not here to be considered as having any advantage over his rival, for he held just as erroneous opinions on the nature and origin of letters, having adopted the theory which Bishop Warburton had rendered prevalent upon the subject; and as he argued upon wrong principles, it was only by mere accident that he approached so near to a right conclusion. The only circumstance which could have led him, with his views, to determine the powers of the characters to be partly syllabic and partly consonantal or vocal, must have been the accidental one, already noticed, of their number not being exactly the same as that of either the syllables or letters of correspondent names in the two groups analyzed by him. And accordingly when one was found tallying in its elements with the number of Greek letters in the name denoted by it, he gave up his first decision, and acquiesced in the correction of it made by M. Champollion, agreeing with him in the conclusion that the phonetic hieroglyphs were always used with the powers of single Greek letters; which has been the received opinion ever since.

Now we shall be assisted in getting to a right determination here by observing that the Egyptians never could have intentionally contracted the phonetic expression of a royal name, or have thus omitted any of its constituent parts through design. This is proved by several considerations :—1. Should the Chinese, upon arriving at an equal degree of knowledge on the subject, omit signs of vowels in their designation of names ; the inference would be natural, and might probably be partly right, that they did so from a desire of contraction ; as it is a common practice with them in their general system to express a whole train of thoughts by a single sign. But the Egyptians, on the contrary, were accustomed to express a single thought, if complex, by a whole train of signs, giving separate marks for each of its more simple component parts. This gave their graphic system a great superiority over that of the Chinese, in one respect, of considerable importance, viz. that the whole number of signs requisite in it was so much less ; but the effect of it upon their method of writing was a dilatation of style, and the practice they were thus led into was quite inconsistent with any tendency to make contractions. 2. The numerous repetitions observable in their writing were equally inconsistent with such tendency ; and the argument derived from this consideration has the advantage that the fact on which it rests cannot be disputed. For no matter whether the general text of any inscription, as for instance that on the Rosetta stone, be supposed ideagraphic or phonetic, the repetitions which appear on the very face of it must be admitted as such equally on either supposition ; and they occur in this inscription frequently where there are no correspondent ones in the alphabetic writing, consequently we have a less right to expect an *intentional* omission of vowel signs in the phonetic groups of the hieroglyphs than in the Greek text. 3. The circumstance on which I most rely, in proof of this point, is the ostentatious manner in which the phonetic groups, surrounded by cartouches, are displayed in the Egyptian legends, from which it obviously was the intention of the insculptor of each laudatory record to omit no part of the

principal name, but to place the whole of it in the most prominent and conspicuous point of view. Besides all the titles and honours of the personage celebrated are generally found to accompany the name in the fullest manner; and where the subordinate denominations are thus given, it surely is not to be supposed that the principal one could be intentionally curtailed. We must therefore look to some other cause than design on the part of the Egyptians for the prevailing omission of vowel signs in their phonetic writing.

In the next place it is to be observed, that this omission did not arise from any want of vowel signs, for they had hieroglyphic marks for all the Greek vowels, except the close ($\psi\iota\lambda\omicron\nu$) U, and occasionally made use of them. The rare appearance, therefore, of such signs in their legends can only be accounted for by the cause which was before assigned for it, viz. the very confused and imperfect knowledge of the subject which they possessed in consequence of their deriving it from inaccurate observation of a foreign practice. The difficulty which under such circumstances would be felt in forming a conception of the consonantal part of a syllable has been already developed; but the inevitable result of this difficulty must have been to create a tendency in the mind to employ graphic characters with syllabic rather than with consonantal powers. Hence the Egyptian writer, wherever the vowel part of a syllable was not particularly presented to his thoughts, would naturally employ a phonetic hieroglyph as the sign of that syllable taken in its entire undivided state; and from the same cause the Egyptian reader would be prevented from perceiving the extreme imperfection of this mode of writing. Thus, for instance, suppose the artist had to insculp the name *Berenikē*, and that he wrote it with hieroglyphs, which in their state of equivalence to single Greek letters, would give us the phonetic group BRNĪKĒ; any person forming this combination who had a difficulty in conceiving the consonantal power of a character, must have employed the initial one here to denote, not the consonant B, but the syllable Be; and a very strong additional reason, showing

that the Egyptian did so, may be deduced from the particular circumstances of his case. It is nearly certain that in leaving out a sign for the vowel part of the first syllable he was unconscious of the omission: for he had ready by him a hieroglyphic mark for that part (the single feather), and it has been just proved from various considerations that he was anxious to exhibit a name of this sort in the fullest possible manner. The non-appearance therefore of a sign here for the vowel E can only be accounted for by the fact, that he really was not aware of his having left the expression of the first syllable incomplete. But it is quite impossible that he could have failed to perceive the deficiency, unless he made the initial hieroglyph denote that entire syllable. In like manner it may be shown that he employed the second hieroglyph with the power of the syllable *Re*; but in the two following syllables the long vowels having, from some cause or other, arrested his attention, and in consequence got signs to represent them; the characters preceding them were necessarily forced upon him in their consonantal use. The hieroglyphic group therefore was employed by him with the series of powers expressed in the combination *BeReNĪKĒ*, the large letters showing the number of phonetic hieroglyphs, and the small ones pointing out how many of these again were made use of with syllabic powers. On the other hand, the Egyptian reader had just the same tendency as the writer to understand every phonetic character as expressive of a syllable, unless when it was immediately followed by a vowel sign; the character itself confining his choice to a few syllables, and his familiarity with the name represented by the group suggesting to him which one out of these he should select. In reading, therefore, the above-mentioned hieroglyphic name, he would have taken the first character for sign of the syllable *Be*, without considering that in the group phonetically equivalent to *SeBaSToS* it denoted the syllable *Ba*, or troubling himself with determining what other powers it might have; and by a similar mode of proceeding he would have taken the second character for sign of the syllable *Re*. Thus he must have read the entire group

Be-Re-NĪ-KĒ, appropriating only one hieroglyph to each of the first pair of syllables, and two to each of the last. In like manner he read the other group analyzed by Young, *PTO-Le-MaĪ-oS*, or *PTO-Le-MĒ-oS* (a comparison of the powers of the two feathers in different groups proving that they were employed to denote indifferently either *Ī* or *Ē*). But in some hieroglyphic names he had to employ every one of the characters with syllabic powers (as, for instance, in the group phonetically equivalent to *KaiSaRoS* or *KēSaRoS^a*); and in general he had to read the great majority of the phonetic hieroglyphs with such powers.

Here it may be observed, that it is quite improbable, and to all appearance nearly impossible, that the writing of any people could remain in the anomalous state I have been just describing for a long series of ages. If it be said that the Arabians, in their designation of vowels, have written in a similar manner for an immense length of time, two answers may be given to the objection. In the first place, this people have only three vowel letters, which must have thrown a great impediment in the way of any melioration of their graphic practice; whereas the Egyptians had hieroglyphic signs for nearly all the Greek vowels, and occasionally wrote words perfectly, as in the instance of the third group which has been analyzed, and found phonetically equivalent to *KLEOPATRA*. In the second place, the Arabians made a much freer use of their vowel letters than the Egyptians did; and if they had not, the want of some im-

^a The termination of this name shows that the insculptor of it could not have been a Greek or Roman; for no one of either nation would have so written the word *Cæsar*. But an Egyptian observing that most Greek and Latin names of men ended with the syllable *os* or *us*, may have been thence induced to take it for granted that it ought to be placed at the close of this, as well as of other denominations of the same kind. The word is also written in some instances *KaISaLoS*, or *KĒSaLoS*, the substitution in which, of *L* for *R*, is such as may be frequently observed in one of the Coptic dialects, and therefore tallies with what might be expected in the writing of an ancient Egyptian, but certainly not in that of an European.

provement of their vowel system (beyond that of changing the nature, but not the number of their vowel signs) would have been more sensibly felt, and in consequence such improvement would probably have been long since made.

But the parallel is much closer between the Egyptian mode of expressing vowels and that which appears in the unpointed text of the Hebrew Bible; for in the one system of vocalization, as well as in the other, we find entire words written without any vowel letter, and the number of syllables represented without such signs, far more numerous than those with them. An European, or a modern Jew, takes for consonants the letters which appear in syllables so written, and supplies the vowels which the context and his knowledge of Hebrew show him to be those required. But upon accurate inquiry it will be found, that the ancient Jew looked upon those same letters as the representatives of the entire syllables wanted. However it was only during a limited period that he read in this manner; for before he adopted the use of the masoretic points, he must have been aware of the defect of vowel signs in certain syllables of the text, and thenceforward have begun to use the letters of such syllables as consonants. Now the Egyptian had much greater facilities for improvement with respect to vocalization, in his conception of the subject and in his practice, as he had no occasion to invent new vowel letters, but only to make a freer use of those he already had. By calculating, therefore, the length of the interval during which the Jew used his letters, partly with syllabic and partly with consonantal powers, a very wide limit would be got for the duration of the phonetic system of the Egyptians (such as it is ascertained to have been from the employment made of it in the designation of Greek and Roman names), the commencement of which would be thus brought down to a date long posterior to the reign of Psammetichus, when their intercourse with the Greeks began.^a However the

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determination of the Hebrew question will, from its importance, require a full discussion, in consequence of which it must be reserved to the next part of this work; and is here alluded to merely to show its general bearing upon the point under consideration. But arguments supplied from various other sources shall presently be adduced, not restricted to the particular phonetic system which has been already described, but admitting a reference to any in general, if ever the Egyptians attached to their characters powers differing from those as yet ascertained to have been employed by them; and these arguments will be found to concur in establishing the above-mentioned limit, and to prove that it was actually from Greek intercourse that the Egyptian phonetic writing was derived.

By means of the three groups already analyzed, hieroglyphic characters were found for A, B, E, Ē, Ī, K, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T; it being understood that those corresponding to the con-

throne by the aid of some Ionian and Carian soldiers who had been shipwrecked on the coast, gave them a settlement in the country, and had certain Egyptian children committed to their care, to be by them instructed in the Greek language, and consequently in the Greek mode of writing. The words of the original are as follows: “Τοῖσι δὲ Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσί, τοῖσι συνεκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ, ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων—πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν.—Καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Ἀιγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι.”—HER. lib. ii. c. 154. This account of Herodotus is corroborated by Diodorus Siculus, both as to the reign in which the intercourse with Greeks began, and as to the immediate consequence of that intercourse. But the latter historian makes a more direct reference to alphabetic writing, as he tells us of the Egyptians being instructed, not merely in the Greek language, but in Greek learning. The following are his words: “Καὶ [Ψαμμίτιχος] φιλέλλην ὦν διαφερόντως, τοὺς υἱοὺς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐδίδαξε παιδείαν. καθόλου δὲ πρῶτος τῶν κατ’ Ἀιγυπτον βασιλέων, ἀνέωξε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν ἐμπόρια· καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπλέουσι ξένοις παρείχετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τούτου δυναστέυσαντες, ἀνεπίβατον τοῖς ξένοις ἐποίουν τὴν Ἀιγυπτον, τοὺς μὲν φονέοντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδουλούμενοι τῶν καταπλεόντων.”—DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. cap. 67.

sonants represent syllables, unless when immediately followed by vowel signs, or when placed at the end of compound syllables. A comparison of these groups supplied three pair of homophones by exhibiting two characters for Ē, for K, and for T; and it corroborated the correctness of the powers assigned to five of the hieroglyphs, by proving that the very same powers must be attributed to them in different places. The characters to which I allude, are the square, the inflected knot, the lion [in Coptic, λ&βοι, *laboi*], the mouth [in Coptic, πο, *ro*], and the eagle or hawk [in Coptic a bird is ε&λκτ, *halet*; and supposing the word to have been the same in the ancient language of the Egyptians, it would in their phonetic system have been written with hieroglyphs corresponding in power with the letters in ε&λκτ; for, as shall presently be shown, there was not in that system any character employed with H power]. In like manner the application of this method to other groups has served to detect new homophones,^a and characters with new powers; as well as to confirm the phonetic appropriations already made; and as this species of corroboration is derived from a very great variety of legends, the proof of the reality of Young's curious discovery rests on such an accumulation of evidence that it approaches very nearly to demonstration. By means of characters whose powers were thus ascertained, M. Champollion succeeded in deciphering the phonetic names of a few of the later sovereigns of the Egyptian race, as well as of most of those of the Greek and Roman dynasties down to Antoninus Pius. In the case of the Roman Emperors, not only the names, but also the surnames and titles of rank and of honour are found phonetically

^a The most usual way of discovering homophones is by observing the varieties which occur in the designation of some well known name. If all the characters but one in the hieroglyphic representation of such a name be ascertained, then the new sign must evidently have the power of that letter or syllable to which it corresponds in position. Thus the mode of writing the name *Ptolemy*, which is exhibited in No. 5 (or No. 31 of Plate III. in the *Précis*), proves that the owl was employed with the power of M, or some simple syllable including M.

written, and the subsidiary denominations are in every instance such as are known from history and ancient coins to have been assumed by the sovereigns, to whose proper names they are annexed; which circumstance affords an additional confirmation, if any were wanted, of the general truth of the discovery, though in some particular instances its application may not be sustained by a sufficient induction. I subjoin as many more of the deciphered names as are necessary for the illustration of the subject.

The royal inscriptions are either in single cartouches, as on the Rosetta stone, or in double ones. Where two are employed, the first is called by M. Champollion the *pre nom* (to which appellation I do not object, provided it be understood in the sense to which it has been restricted in the observations already made upon the subject), and the second, the *nom* cartouche, as containing the principal name. It is in this latter cartouche, if in either of them, that we may expect to find a phonetic group; for—what is very remarkable—we never meet such in the former one till we come to the inscriptions in honour of the Roman emperors. This is admitted by M. Champollion with respect to the prenoms of most of the preceding sovereigns, and wherever he has attempted to make out an exception he has entirely failed, as I shall take an opportunity of showing in several instances. But until an exception be proved, it is fair to assume the nature of the groups in all the prenoms to be the same, as it is known and acknowledged to be, in by far the greatest number of them. When, however, we arrive at the legends of the Roman dynasty, the case is entirely altered: phonetic designations are now diffused through both the cartouches, and the principal name is found indifferently in either of them. This gradual extension of the system affords, I conceive, a very decisive proof of its comparative novelty; for if it was two thousand years old in the time of the Cæsars,^a there surely would

^a M. Champollion held that the Egyptian phonetic writing, such as it appears in the designation of Greek and Roman names, existed exactly in the same state as far back as the first Thuthmosis of Manetho, the commence-

have been no perceptible increase of its application in the short interval between them and the Ptolemies. But suppose the phonetic use of characters began only a little before the Greek dynasty, then some extension of it under the Roman dominion is just what might be expected. This is the first circumstance on which I rely, as indicating a limitation to the age of the whole system, and supplying a very strong objection against referring its commencement to an epoch further back than that already assigned in the reign of Psammetichus. And it is to be observed, that the ground of the argument here adduced is out of the reach of dispute; for if every character which M. Champollion claimed to be phonetic, were conceded to be such, there still would remain a sufficient difference between the Roman and the earlier prenoms, to point out, that, at the beginning of the Imperial dynasty, the phonetic system of the Egyptians was in a state of transition—a state absolutely inconsistent with the supposition of that system having been established in use a great number of centuries before.

The pair of cartouches No. 6 (or No. 121 in the book of plates connected with the *Précis*) refers to the celebrated king of the Egyptian race, *Psammetichus*. The prenom here is confessedly ideagraphic: the first figure in it, the disk of the sun, may be the emblem of splendour; the second occurs in the Rosetta inscription frequently after the name of Ptolemy, where it is trebled, to mark either intensitiveness or the plural number, a bowl being placed over the three; and the combination is read in the Greek by the word *εὐχάριστος*: it also frequently occurs in the same inscription alone, and in the fifth line, where it so appears, it corresponds with *ἀγαθός* in the Greek text: so that it may be considered to denote here graciousness or goodness. What the meaning of the third may be I cannot tell. M. Champollion renders the entire, *Soleil bienfaisant de Quietude*; and

ment of whose reign he dated in the year 1774 B. C., and consequently he made the minor limit of the duration of their phonetic system above 2000 years.

thus makes it a motto respecting the sun; while I rather consider it an emblematic representation of qualities attributed to the individual for the purpose of immediately indicating his personal character. It is impossible, from inspection of this cartouche alone, to determine which is the more correct mode of interpreting its signification: the hieroglyphs in it are placed naked before the reader without any subsidiary signs, and it is left entirely to his judgment to decide how he will modify and connect the ideas denoted by them. We have here a specimen of the more ancient style of hieroglyphic writing, like the one which has been analyzed in a preceding chapter; and all the older prenoms were written in the same manner. This mode of expression in the cartouches having been applied to a particular purpose, may have been continued in them longer than in the other parts of the hieroglyphic texts: so that we are not warranted in judging of the general state of ideagraphic writing in the time of Psammetichus by that which appears in his prenom cartouche. But when any considerable improvement took place in the general style by the introduction of a fuller and more definite representation of thoughts, a corresponding improvement might be expected after some time to creep into the ideagraphic cartouche, and to continue progressive there, till the phonetic system, from its great superiority, got the lead. Accordingly, when we come down to the dynasty of the Greek sovereigns, we shall find a very striking alteration in the prenom cartouches, and a great number of subordinate and connecting signs therein employed. The expressions being thus rendered more determinate, we are enabled to see that they have a reference to attributes, by which the personal character of the individual may be supposed to have been distinguished, and that, in the general outline at least, their meaning is such. Hence I conclude that the signification of the older prenoms is also of this description, since the vaguer form of expression may be fairly interpreted by that which is more explicit and full upon the same subject.

The name in the example before us is phonetically written

PSaMeTiK; which, however, is no proof that the new system commenced so early in Egypt as during the reign of this monarch; for inscriptions in honour of such a distinguished prince might be made long after his death; but I think it shows that phonetic writing must have begun there before the time of the Ptolemies, because it could hardly be supposed that, during their dynasty, inscriptions should be allowed in honour of any of the sovereigns of the Egyptian race. The fourth character of the group is the only one whose power is not ascertained by its use in Greek and Roman denominations; but, as all the rest of them are well known to represent the syllables of PSaMeTiK, to which they correspond in position, the same may be fairly inferred of this one also; it was just by a similar proof applied to cartouche No. 5, that the owl was shown to have the phonetic power of M, or some simple syllable having M for its consonant. It may be remarked that there is not a single vowel sign in this name; which circumstance, on the principles already explained, tallies with the supposition of its having been written *near* the introduction of the phonetic system. Had there been any such signs here, or, at least, had there been any such combined in the same syllables with consonants, and consequently forcing these latter to be used with consonantal powers; they would have afforded internal evidence of the group not having been formed for some time after that epoch; as it is quite impossible that men in their first use of phonetic characters could employ them otherwise than with syllabic powers. However, on the other hand, it is not likely that the inscription was made at the *very* commencement of this kind of writing; for if it was, a greater difference might be expected between the characters in it and those employed in the expression of Greek and Roman names: the probability therefore is, that it was not insculped till some time after the reign of Psammetichus. Whatever may have been the precise interval, the Egyptians had, during the whole of it, the benefit of Greek records, so that the correctness of the insculpture can be depended on, as well as if it had been made in the actual life-time of the monarch; whence it appears,

that Europeans wrongly annexed the termination *os* to this Egyptian name, in like manner as Egyptians added it incorrectly to the Roman title, Cæsar.

The two cartouches are distinguished by being preceded, the *prenom*, by a bee and crook (which from its signification here was probably one of the forms of the Egyptian sceptre) placed, each of them, on a semicircle; and the *nom*, by a goose and the disk of the sun. The former combination is known to signify *king*; for it is so read in the Greek part of the inscription on the Rosetta stone. M. Klaproth has shown, from his knowledge of Coptic, that the phonetic explanation which has been given for this group is wrong; but I hope presently to satisfy the reader, upon more general principles, that it is not phonetic at all; and to account, with some degree of probability, for its meaning on the supposition of its being ideagraphic. The latter combination is supposed by M. Champollion to denote "Son of the Sun;" and if he had allowed the signification to be immediate without the intervention of words, he probably would have been right; for this title certainly was assumed by Ptolemy Epiphanes, as may be seen from the end of the third line of the Greek part of the Rosetta inscription, *υιου του ηλίου Πτολεμαίου*; but one part of the hieroglyphic combination is unquestionably ideagraphic; and most probably the entire of it is such, since the whole of the other one is of this description. Where there are two cartouches employed, these combinations are uniformly prefixed in the case of the Egyptian and Greek sovereigns;^a and sometimes they precede the Roman designations, but oftener there appear substitutions for one or the other, or for both of them. The substituted groups, however, were most probably equivalent in meaning to the older ones; as it was the policy of the Roman, as well as the Greek rulers

^a I can assert this only as far as specimens have been given by M. Champollion; for I have not had access to the plates of the *Description de l'Égypte*: but it most likely is true generally for every Egyptian and Greek pair of cartouches.

of Egypt to flatter the prejudices of the people by assuming the titles of their native princes. The same policy accounts for some remains of ideagraphic denominations having been continued inside the cartouches also, even after the use of phonetic signs in both of them had become predominant. The two external groups being exhibited over the cartouches of Psammetichus, it will not be necessary to prefix them to other pairs; but the *prenom* will be sufficiently distinguished from the *nom* cartouche by being placed to the right of it.

The pair of cartouches No. 7 (or in the plates of the *Précis*, No. 126) exhibits the prenom and name of *Alexander*. The upper characters of the former are confessedly ideagraphic; and the only one of them all legitimately proved to be ever phonetic is the wavy line, which certainly is sometimes used with the power of N, or some simple syllable beginning or ending with N; but is also frequently employed in places where it is more likely that it has no immediate reference to sound, and denotes some idea of connexion. The lowest, or last character, is found in various texts exchanged for the plough, which shall be presently proved to be the metaphoric representation of the god *Phthah*. With respect to this character, M. Champollion virtually contradicted himself in making it phonetic, because he read it immediately in combination with the first, so as that the two should make parts of one and the same compound word; which extreme inversion of its place is quite incompatible with its representing any letter or syllable; as phonetic writing, in which such transpositions were allowed, would be absolutely illegible. From his translation it is evident he attached to this character the syllabic power of MI or MAI, the Coptic for *loving*; and certainly we have, preserved among the surnames of the ancient sovereigns, the Egyptian compound MI-AMMON, which would be brought out by the combination here made by him. But if the hieroglyph in question were really employed here with such phonetic power, it would have been placed immediately before the figure of the god, at the top, instead of at the bottom of the cartouche; and it would have corresponded

in signification, not with *chéri*, but with *cherissant*, as shall be presently more fully shown. His rendering of the prenom, together with the bee and sceptre over it, is, *Le roi, chéri par Ammon-ra, approuvé par le Soleil*; by which reading of the group he virtually gave up his theory on the subject. For although this prenom be written in somewhat a fuller style, yet there is no reason to think it different in its general nature from the older ones: as then he admitted that it expressed, not a motto, but a collection of attributes characterizing the individual, he should have applied the same description to the others also. That such really was the nature of the ancient prenoms, shall be more fully shown in the next chapter: they were employed, each of them, to denote immediately the idea of an individual, and thence the name that was associated with that idea. M. Champollion was probably right in calling one of the tutelary gods at the top of this cartouche *Ammon*; as it is known, from history, that Alexander, after his invasion of Egypt, wished to be considered son of this god, and styled himself *Alexander, son of Jupiter Ammon*.^a He appears then to be characterized in this cartouche as the favourite of the god Ammon, of the god of the sun, and of the god Phthah; also by *splendour*, which the disk of the sun probably denotes here as well as in the older cartouches. As to the three remaining characters, M. Champollion's interpretation of their meaning may possibly be correct; but no reason whatever thence arises for supposing that they are not, like all the other ingredients of the prenom, ideographically used. The name is phonetically written, ALeK-SENTRoS, or ALeKSaNTERoS. The position of the feather makes it doubtful whether it should be taken after S or T,

^a Aulus Gellius gives, on the authority of Varro, a comical instance of Alexander's using this title. "Nam quum is ad matrem ita scripsisset: REX ALEXANDER, JOVIS HAMMONIS FILIUS, OLYMPIADI MATRI, SALUTEM DICIT: Olympias ei rescripsit ad hanc sententiam. *Amabo, inquit, mi fili, quiescas: neque deferas me, neque criminere adversum Junonem. Malum mihi prorsus illa magnum dabit, quum tu me literis tuis pellicem illi esse confiteris.*"—*Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xiii. cap. iv.

but if it be placed right in the former way, it shows that the Egyptian confounded the vowels A and E in their close as well as in their open state.^a

The three pair of cartouches marked 8, 9, 10, (or 128, 132, 134, in the plates of the *Précis*) belong, the first of them to Ptolemy *Soter*, and the other two pair to Ptolemy *Epiphanes*. The name is phonetically written exactly the same in the three nom cartouches, PTOLeMaIoS, or PTOLeMÊoS, followed in the first by a group denoting “beloved by Phthah;” and in the remaining two, by this same group and another denoting “ever-living.” The latter of these is admitted to be ideagraphic, and the former shall presently be proved to be such also. Their immediate signification is known by means of the Rosetta stone: what they ultimately express shall be considered in a subsequent chapter. The appropriation of these legends is made out by means of the characters at the top of the respective prenom. For in the first is inserted—twice, to render the expression more emphatic^b—*Saviour God*, which has an evident reference to Σωτήρ, the peculiar title by which the first king of the race of the Ptolemies was distinguished; in the second appears the compound character of the Rosetta stone, to which Ἐπιφανής is constantly made to correspond in the Greek part of the inscription; and in the third there is an equivalent to that character, as is known from the same inscription, by its occurring twice therein, and having in each instance Ἐπιφανής answering to it in the Greek. The compound character is the only one

^a For the distinction between open and close vowels, see first chapter of next part. The close E in the English word *merchant* is by some pronounced as an A; but I believe this anomaly never received the sanction of general use.

^b M. Champollion attributed the repetition to the intention of the insculptor to indicate that the title was to be given not only to Ptolemy, but also to his queen Berenice. But this way of explaining the matter is inadmissible, unless it be made out that the same prenom was sometimes referred in common to two different nom cartouches, which does not appear very likely to have been ever the case.

of these three which it has been endeavoured to make out phonetic; but the attempt has totally failed, as shall be presently shown. In the first prenom there are only two characters which are ever phonetically used, the wavy line and an equivalent; in the other two there are four such characters, viz. the wavy line, the square, the semicircle, and the open mouth; but if it be certain that they are sometimes phonetic, it is equally certain that they are at other times ideagraphic; of which latter nature and use they most probably are here; and at any rate the great majority of the hieroglyphs are such in these prenomns, as well as in all others anterior to the cartouches of the Roman dynasty.

M. Champollion read the three prenomns as follows: 1. *Dieu Sauveur*, approuvé par Ammon et Isis, &c.; 2. *Dieu Epiphane* approuvé par Phtah-Thore, image d'Ammon-ra; 3. *Dieu resplendissant*, approuvé par Phtah, image vivante d'Amon-ra. Here, although he only selected parts for interpretation, as is evident from the &c. in the first reading, and the chasm in the second; he still contrived to introduce a great deal for which he had no ground but his own fancy, and some points that are actually absurd. Thus, in writing *Dieu Sauveur* in the singular number, he contradicted his own assumption that the first prenom had a common reference to two personages; and in combining Ammon and Ra (which latter word he held to be the name of the god of the sun) into one compound term, he made the combination of two very distinct figures denote a single being; just as if the insculptor could have possibly intended to represent one and the same individual by two portraits placed opposite to each other in the same picture. However his three readings are correct as to the general nature of the significations, which are thereby (in direct opposition to his own theory on the subject) attributed to these prenomns. Indeed he could hardly have avoided making them characteristic designations, inasmuch as in their leading ingredients they have a direct reference to characteristic names. Now as all or most of the very ancient denominations of men were of this description, the question naturally arises, why did not the Egyptian insculptor, in

each written name, make a reference to the distinguishing circumstances alluded to in the spoken one? For it is evident that if he had done so, the graphic designations employed by him might be characteristic, and yet at the same time have a direct reference to significant words of his language; and thus, although ideagraphic, they would have had, in point of permanence, all the advantage of such as are of the mixed phonetic class. The answer to this may, I conceive, be derived from the great interval of time which took place between the formation of spoken names and that of written ones. For in the course of a long series of years the elements of a compound word may become so amalgamated as not to retain any vestige of their original forms. But even in those instances in which the component parts were preserved distinct, so as still to convey the same meaning as before they had been united in the composition of the name; the circumstances to which they alluded were of that simple nature which did not at all suit the taste of later times, and would not supply the pompous ingredients which are to be seen in the prenomens of the Egyptian sovereigns. Whether this be a satisfactory explanation of the matter or not, there is but one Egyptian name, as far as I can find, recorded to have been written in the manner above considered. This one is mentioned by Plutarch, but his account of it is given only as a conjecture, and that not made by himself, but by others: it shall be noticed in the course of next chapter.

The cartouche No. 11 (or 42 in Plate III. of the *Précis*) is given by M. Champollion alone, without a prenom; and presents to us one part of the legend of the last of the race of the Ptolemies, a son of Cleopatra by Julius Cæsar. This prince died very young, and history records scarcely any thing of him more than his name: he is called *Cæsarion* by Plutarch, and *Ptolemy Cæsarion* by Dion-Cassius. Within the cartouche is phonetically written PTOLeMĒoS NeOKĒSaRoS, followed by the ideagraphic designations of “ever-living, and “beloved by Isis and by Phthah.” Besides these ingredients, there is between the two phonetic combinations a small group, which,

evidently from its position, must mean “additionally named,” or “surnamed.” This group M. Champollion expressly asserted to be ideagraphic, in which he was quite right; for if it was phonetically read, it would give the word $\tau\omicron\tau$, *tot*, the Coptic (and probably the old Egyptian) for a hand, the insertion of which word here would have been absurd. But the very first character of this group is one of the four mentioned in the paragraph before the last, viz. the semicircle, which we here find, not only from the necessity of the case, but even upon the admission of M. Champollion himself, to be ideagraphically used.

The two cartouches No. 12 (or 140 in the plates of the *Précis*) give the legend of the emperor *Augustus*, and are both of them filled exclusively with characters phonetically used. The prenom is written AUTÖKRATÖL (*Ἀυτοκράτωρ*), and and the name KĒSALoS. In this and most of the other Roman legends there appears to have been made a selection out of the homophones of characters having, in their original ideagraphic significations, some reference to the subject described. Thus we find here, twice inserted, the eagle, the peculiar emblem of Roman power; three times, the ram's horn, which is known, from the Rosetta inscription, to denote some idea connected with honour or glory; twice the sceptre; and at the beginning of the imperial name Cæsar, a figure, which shall presently be shown to express sovereign authority. In the prenom we have an instance of a character used indifferently with the power of O or U, just as the Arabians now confound those two sounds by a common designation, and as the Jews did, when first they adopted the use of vowel letters. But the Egyptians had not, like the other two people, the excuse of a paucity of signs to account for this confusion; as they had the inflected knot to represent O, and might have confined the ram's horn to U. There is, however, a distinction in their use of the two characters which may be observed generally, though not universally adhered to. The former is appropriated to a close vowel, and the latter to an open one, whose phonetic power was probably inter-

mediate between those of O and U. I admit that in the very example before us the ram's horn in the second syllable does not denote an open vowel; but neither does it a close one: it there represents an imperfect sound, such as cannot clearly be distinguished by the ear, and to which the Arabians never attach any sign. But at all events perfect uniformity is not to be looked for in the Egyptian practice, any more than it is to be expected in that of the Chinese or Japanese, whenever they first arrive at the use of vowel signs.

The pair No. 13 (or 141 of the *Précis*) refers to *Tiberius*. The prenom is phonetically written AUTOKRaToR, and the name, TiBeRĒoS (or TiBeRĪoS) KĒSaRoS, followed by the ideographic expression for "ever-living."

The pair No. 14 (or 143 of the *Précis*) gives the legend of *Tiberius, Claudius, Cæsar, Germanicus, Emperor*, entirely in phonetic characters. The prenom is written TiBeRĒoS (or TiBeRĪoS) KRaUTĒoS (or KRaUTĪoS) KaiSaRoS. And the name, KeLMaNĪKoS, AUTOKRaTŌR. As a sign of R is substituted for one of L in the first cartouche, so, *vice versa*, L is substituted for R in the second. The proper name of the sovereign is here shifted from its usual place; which, I think, can be satisfactorily accounted for; because, as long as only one of the cartouches was phonetically written, it was quite natural to confine the primary denomination to that cartouche. But as soon as both of them were so written, it then became a matter of indifference in which the proper or principal name was placed.

The pair No. 15 (or 147 of the *Précis*) gives the legend of the *Emperor, Cæsar, Domitian, Augustus*, (Σεβαστος), entirely expressed in phonetic characters. The prenom is written AUTOKRaToL; and the name, KĒSaRoS, ToMĪTĒaNōS, SeBaSToS. The equivalent for the feathers, which is here given in the title Cæsar, shows that the first syllable of the word, even when written with those feathers, should be read KĒ, rather than KaI. There is an inversion of the first two hieroglyphs in the prenom, which may be observed in a few

other places also, in the case of two characters next to each other; and may, I conceive, be accounted for by the nature of Egyptian ideagraphy in its later stages. For then the insculptor became accustomed to represent each complex idea by a combination of several signs, denoting its more simple ingredients, wherein the order of those signs was quite immaterial; and a practice contracted in one kind of writing might unconsciously be extended in some few instances to the other. The rarity of the phonetic inversions, and the fact that not one of them is found uniformly made in different groups, show that they did not arise from any regular fixed plan; and experimentally prove the arrangement of the characters to be generally such as it was pointed out by Young: in addition to which, they establish the rule that phonetic hieroglyphs must be read in the order in which they are written. In fact if they were not to be so read, the text composed of them would be quite illegible; and experience comes in here only to confirm the dictates of common sense. The rule then which we find thus observed in the phonetic groups, which we can certainly decipher, must be assumed to hold good in those also which we can not, provided they be of the same general nature; and M. Champollion was totally unwarranted in maintaining some disputed ones to be phonetic, and at the same time reading their parts in a different order from that in which they were written. I have added to the above pair a duplicate of the second cartouche, No. 16 (or 66, Plate V. of the *Précis*), in which the phonetic writing is TOMiTIaNoS, KeRMaNIKoS; and between the two words appears a group of three characters, which M. Champollion considered to be ideagraphic, and to correspond in meaning with ἐπικαλούμενος, i. e. *surnamed*, because it is placed between the names and surnames of sovereigns. The reason is a good one, and the inference is very nearly correct: but then what becomes of his fundamental principle, that a character once phonetic must be always so? Two of the characters before us are certainly used at times phonetically, one of them with the power of N, and the other of T; and yet they were admitted by him

here to form part of an ideagraphic group.^a The same observation applies to the group before noticed in cartouche No. 11, which he expressly called ideagraphic, though all the three characters in it are at times phonetically used. His words respecting the two groups are as follows: "68. a, groupe qui, comme le groupe *idéographique* No. 38, se place entre les noms et les surnoms des souverains."—p. 87.

The pair No. 17 (or 148. a. of the *Précis*) exhibits the legend of the *Emperor, Cæsar, Nerva, Trajan, surnamed Germanicus, and Dacicus*. I must here observe that the old Latin powers of V and I, when used as consonants, were those which we now appropriate to W and Y; so that the name of this emperor was formerly pronounced *Nerwa Trayanus*; as indeed is evident from its Greek imitation, *Νερουα Τραιανος*, in which, if the words be pronounced with only the same number of syllables as in the Latin, the powers of W and Y will necessarily be produced, although the Greeks had not (any more than the French now have) a direct way of expressing those powers by means of consonants. The prenom is here written AUTO-KRαToR, KĒSaR, NeLOUA, and the nom cartouche, TRαIαNoS, followed by one of the ideagraphic groups already mentioned to signify "surnamed;" then again phonetically expressed KeRMaNĪKoS, TĒKiKoS, with the wavy line between those last two words evidently to connect them, and consequently corresponding in its signification with the conjunction "and:" but if it was a phonetic prefix to the second, as M. Champollion would have it, then, upon his own showing in the explanation he gives of numbers 3 and 33 in his book of plates, it would denote either the plural number or the preposition "of" belonging to the genitive case, neither of which significations are at all admissible in this place. The wavy line therefore must here be ideagraphically used, and a proof thus de-

^a We have here a second instance, admitted by M. Champollion himself, of an ideagraphic use of the semicircle.

rived from the context, where we are nearly certain of the signification of the surrounding groups, is worth a thousand drawn from parts of the general text, in which the meaning is doubtful or unknown.

In the prenom of this pair may again be observed an inversion of two characters next to each other, at the top and also at the bottom of the cartouche; in both which places the eagle is put in the centre, and in consequence the ram's horn removed out of regular order. The insculptor seems to have done this for the sake of symmetry, to give the principal position to the most remarkable character, which the bird may have appeared to him to be, not merely from its figure, but also from its being the ensign of Roman power. From whatever cause such inversions arose, whether from accident or caprice, the effect, I agree with M. Klaproth, is, that we could not depend upon the deciphering of any phonetic group if the word denoted by it was one with which we were not already acquainted through other means. For we should have no way of ascertaining whether there might not be in such group one or more inversions of characters next to each other, or whereabouts those inversions might be. From the example before us it may still further be observed, that even as late as the time of Trajan the ideagraphic use of characters must have predominated in the general hieroglyphic texts; for no one who had been long habituated to writing that was solely or principally phonetic, could ever have overlooked, or postponed to other considerations, so important an element of phonetic writing as the order of the signs in any group representing a word.

The pair No. 18 (or 149 in the *Précis*) gives the legend of the *Emperor, Cæsar, Adrian*. The prenom is written AUTOKRaTOR, KĒISaRoS, and the name ATILIĒNoS. In these two cartouches, as well also as in the phonetic representation of Dacicus in the last pair, the Egyptians must have pronounced an A like an E, or have expressed the former vowel by the feathers, which would prove a still greater confusion of vowel signs and sounds made by them than by the Arabians; for this latter people only confound A with E, and again E

with I, but the Egyptians appear to have expressed all the three indifferently by one common sign. That they did not of themselves discover the use of vowel marks, could in no way be more decisively shown than by the extreme ignorance which they thus displayed respecting the proper employment of such marks.

No. 19 (or 150 of the *Précis*) is a duplicate of the nom cartouche of *Adrian*, and is written ATRiANoS, KeSaRoS. It is taken from the obelisk *Barbérini*; on which also appears the pair of cartouches No. 20 (or 151 of the *Précis*) giving the legend of the wife of Adrian, the *Empress Sabina*. One of the cartouches contains SABINA, followed by the ideographic designation of a goddess; and the other, SeBaSTĒ, in like manner accompanied by ideographic expressions for divinity and eternal life; the same hieroglyph, an extended arm, being employed with the power of A in the former word, and of E in the second. The use of the terms *Autokrator*, *Sebastos*, *Sebaste*, in the imperial legends, instead of *Imperator*, *Augustus*, *Augusta*, proves that in Egypt Greek was continued the language of state under the Roman dynasty; and exhibits a specimen of the policy of that government, in leaving to conquered nations, in matters unconnected with taxation, the appearance of being their own masters. It is evident that any independent people would act as the Egyptians were in this instance permitted to do: having learned one language of communication with foreigners, they would persevere in its use, even though another should, from change of circumstances, become more convenient for the purpose to those with whom they had to hold intercourse. Thus at this moment in China, English having become the medium through which the European trade is carried on, the merchants there will not be at the trouble of learning a second foreign language; and whoever go from Europe to Canton, whether French, or Dutch, or Portuguese, or of whatever other nation they may be, must learn English, or they can have no commercial dealing with the Chinese.

The pair of cartouches No. 21 (or 152 of the *Précis*) exhibits the legend of the *Emperor, Cæsar, Antoninus*. The

prenom is written AUTOKRaTOR, KeSaRoS; and the name ANTONĪNoS, after which is ideagraphically expressed, "surnamed ever-living." The second syllable of Autokrator was evidently forgotten by the insculptor in the first instance, and afterwards introduced by him in smaller characters before the bird, there being no room for it in its proper place behind that hieroglyph. This is the latest name that has been found phonetically written. Consequent upon the gradual extension of phonetic characters inside the cartouches, there probably followed a correspondent increase of their use outside; and the system thus extended would naturally end in alphabetic writing. The result appears to have been impeded by superstition alone, that is, by the attachment of the Egyptians to their sacred characters; for as soon as a considerable portion of the people was converted to Christianity, or, at all events, not very long after that event, a national alphabet was adopted. The use of the Coptic writing can be traced back to within about one hundred years of the time of the elder Antoninus, and probably was introduced somewhat earlier, though not till after the death of Clemens Alexandrinus.

The comparison which has been made of the phonetic portions of the legends in the series above examined, will, I trust, be found to prove, in the most convincing manner, that when they were insculped, the Egyptian writing of this kind was only in a state of transition quite incompatible with an old established system. But if phonetic writing was then a novelty in the cartouches, it must of course have been of still more recent introduction into the general text; for it is on all hands agreed that it was first employed in the designation of names. For the convenience of the reader I have had inserted in the first Plate, to accompany the series of legends, a list of the hieroglyphs therein phonetically employed: they include nearly all those whose powers have been legitimately established, and may be distinguished into two very different classes, viz. signs of syllables or consonants, and signs of vowels. The characters in each class have been found to a certain extent commutable among them-

selves, but there is no clear unequivocal instance of a sign of either class being exchanged for one of the other; that is, I mean, no instance of a consonant sign being made to denote a vowel, or a vowel sign being made to denote a consonant. In representing the characters of the former class in the table as equivalent to single letters, I shall, of course, be understood to assign such powers to them only when the vowels of the syllables to which they belong are expressed; for otherwise they denote those syllables entire, whereas the characters of the other class never have any other powers but those of single letters. The homophones, or equivalents of the same letter, are arranged, as nearly as I could, according to the order of frequency in their occurrence; but where a character is generally used with one power, and only seldom with another, I have considered the former as its proper phonetic value, and have not entered it among the equivalents of the latter.

The last of the characters to which in the Table I have assigned the power of A, is by M. Champollion represented as equivalent to H. My reason for the alteration is as follows: The character occurs twice among the cartouches in the plates of the *Précis*, commencing the names both of *Acoris*, one of the latest kings of the Egyptian race (No. 22, or 124 in the *Précis*), and of the Emperor *Adrian* (No. 19). The former name may be read AAKoL or HAKoL. The alphabetic word limits the power of the character in question to that of one of the initials here given, but does not determine which should be selected; for, as on the one hand, in the ancient method of Greek writing, the name might begin with an aspiration, though not expressed; so, on the other, the Greek might choose to denote the double vowel by the single one pronounced long; and we see he took a much greater liberty than this with the termination of the same word, to which he added the syllable *is*, to suit it to the genius of his own language. But the latter name limits the initial to a vowel, and supplies a far more decisive way of determining its power than by the evidence of any foreigner, for it gives us that of the Egyptian himself. The name happens to be preserved phonetically written another way (No. 18), from

which it appears that the character under consideration is equivalent to an extended arm, and this hieroglyph, when phonetically used, constantly denotes a vowel, whether A or E, and of course in the present instance an A. This proof is the very strongest that, without a fuller induction of particular instances, the nature of the case admits; and it cannot be shaken by any argument deduced from parts of the hieroglyphic texts outside the cartouches, where it is questionable whether the characters were at all phonetically used. Still farther it not only establishes the power of the character before us, but it also shows that the Egyptians had no hieroglyph equivalent to H in their phonetic system; for if they had they would have prefixed it to the name of Adrian, which certainly, at the time of their making the inscription, was pronounced with an aspiration, as is evident from the coins stamped in the reign of this emperor, in all of which the name commences with an H. Now this deficiency in their phonetic signs cannot be accounted for by any want of aspirations or guttural sounds in their language, since two of their ancient words actually commencing with powers of the kind, and represented in Roman characters by HYC and HAC, have been already adduced from Manetho through Josephus; and as soon as they arrived at an alphabetic system, they adopted two letters to express such powers, both *Khei* and *Hori*: but from what cause it really arose, and what it indicates, shall be considered in another chapter.

I am now in a condition to show that certain groups, already alluded to from their connexion with the cartouches, are not phonetic, or, at least, that the attempts to prove them such have been entirely unsuccessful: and I shall begin with the compound character, which is known, from the Greek word corresponding to it in the Rosetta inscription, to be nearly identical in meaning with the epithet “glorious,” and forms the leading ingredient in the hieroglyphic designation of the surname *Epiphanes*.—See Fig. 1. It is endeavoured to make out of this compound a phonetic expression equivalent to the alphabetic one ⲉⲣ (*hr*), or ⲉⲓⲣ (*hir*), the Coptic for *resplendent*. Let

us then see whether such signification be warranted by an examination of the separate parts. The uppermost character has been just proved to have, when phonetically used, the power not of H but of A; the second certainly, when so used, is an equivalent of R; but there is not, I believe, any legitimate proof that the third was ever employed with phonetic power. However passing over this objection, and admitting it to have the power assigned to it in the table of M. Champollion, we shall find the word come out ART: so far is the expression, when strictly analyzed, from the Coptic *hir*, which we are required to believe it represented. On the other hand, that the group under consideration was really ideagraphic, is rendered probable not only by the circumstance of its signification being easily accounted for on that supposition; but also from the mode of expression thus arrived at being natural to the human mind, inasmuch as it has been shown to be analogous to those formed among various nations for the representation of the same thought.

I next proceed to the combination of the oval and semicircle which Dr. Young discovered to be the indication of the name it was attached to, being that of a female; and which he concluded to be phonetic, because the semicircle, when phonetically used, is equivalent to a T, and † (*ti*) or †ε (*te*) happens to be the Coptic particle for the feminine gender. He certainly was right as to the signification of the group, but he was wrong in supposing that signification conveyed through the intervention of language; and as I consider his error on this point to be the foundation of the theory now in vogue respecting the phonetic system of the Egyptians, I shall examine it a little more fully on that account.

I have already shown it very improbable, upon general graphic principles, that a hieroglyphic writer should employ phonetic modifications of his expressions; and the group before us being used for a modifying purpose, it is in consequence very unlikely that it should be phonetic. I shall now endeavour to prove that the general principles of language, applied to the

Coptic, lead us to the very same conclusion. The advocates for the extension of the phonetic system to the general text of the hieroglyphic legends maintain an identity in the initials of Coptic and Egyptian terms; and I believe them to be right within certain limits, that is, when their position is confined to words of short utterance and frequent occurrence. But if identity to any extent be admitted with respect to the words of the two languages, there is still stronger reason for its holding in their grammatical modifications. Whoever examines the relation of English to German, or of Arabic to Hebrew, will find that the general frame-work (if I may so call it) of a language is far more durable and permanent than the materials of which it at any assigned time consists. Whatever peculiarity then of grammatical forms and inflexions is found in the Coptic, and cannot be traced to the Greek, must be laid to the account of the ancient Egyptian. But there is a very extraordinary one in the derivative language, viz. that all the regular modifications in it are made by preformatives; by alterations of the words at their commencement;^a so that in the lexicons it is by their final letters they are alphabetically arranged.^b We are therefore war-

^a By a formative, I mean any addition to a root which serves to the inflection of it considered as a single word. In denying then affirmatives to the Coptic, I by no means wish to be considered as denying affixes: there certainly occur in it, as well as in the Shemitic languages, pronominal affixes, where the pronoun and word by which it is governed come to be united in one compound term. I must also admit, that an inflecting particle, which ought regularly to be at the end of a preformative, is sometimes found at the end of the root. But irregularities of this kind do not extend to the particles with which we are more particularly concerned in the present discussion. Thus, for instance, †, when used as the formative of the feminine gender, is never placed at the end of a Coptic word.

^b At least this is the case in the Coptic Dictionary that forms the third part of Kircher's *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, which he called *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Arabicum cum Interpretatione Latina*. In it he has arranged the Coptic words by the last letter, and again, subordinately to this, by their initial ones; which plan he mentions in the preface that he adopted as an improvement on that of an Arabic writer, who classed the words entirely and solely by their final letters.

ranted in concluding there were no affirmatives in the mother-tongue;^a and consequently that in the Egyptian legends all modificatory signs placed at the end of hieroglyphic groups, or indifferently at their beginning or end, must have been ideographic.

M. Champollion does not appear to have been aware of the inconsistency of supposing the words of the Egyptian and Coptic languages to have been the same, and yet their inflexions different; and that too in the leading grammatical characteristic of the latter, where the difference could not have been produced by the influence of either Greek or Arabic upon the former. But though he made light of this difference, he saw that it had some bearing against his phonetic system; for he endeavoured to get rid of it by as absurd a supposition as can well be imagined, namely, that phonetic characters might possibly be read in a different order from that in which they were written, so that though appearing at the end of a word they might be pronounced at its beginning; and thus the difference would come out to exist not in the two languages at all, but only in the two kinds of writing. Upon this point he expresses himself as follows: “Je dois ajouter que, dans l’état actuel de mes connaissances sur la langue antique de l’Egypte, dont les textes hiéro-

^a This inference, from the general analogies of language, is corroborated by a particular one, which the very case under consideration supplies. The Coptic suffered a second great permutation by the infusion into it of Arabic; and we are acquainted with its previous and subsequent states, in neither of which had it regularly any affirmatives. Now if the second admixture certainly did not produce this peculiarity, we have no reason to suppose the first one could; for Greek was just as little calculated to cause such an alteration as the Arabic. In fact if these languages operated on the frame-work of the old Egyptian, it must have been in the very opposite way; and the affirmatives which occasionally appear in the Coptic are so opposed to the general nature of its inflexions, that it is very unlikely they belonged to the original contexture; while at the same time they can be naturally accounted for by the supposition of their having sprung out of the foreign ingraftings upon the parent stock.

glyphiques nous conservent les mots écrits phonétiquement, je crois avoir reconnu que les marques de genre, de nombre, de personne et de temps, semblables d'ailleurs à celles du copte, au lieu d'être toujours placées *en augment*, comme dans le copte, le sont parfois *en crément*: cette circonstance m'a paru bien digne de remarque. *Mais rien ne prouve qu'on prononçât dans cet ordre.*"—p. 127. I have already pointed out the absurdity of this supposition: in fact if the characters of a phonetic group might be read *ad libitum* in any order without reference to that in which they were written, there might be as many different words got out of a group, as there could be different arrangements of its component parts; and as, on this supposition, there would be no way of determining which was the right arrangement, the writing would be quite illegible. But however imperfect the phonetic system of the Egyptians was, we have no ground of any kind for charging on it such an absurdity as this. Wherever we know from independent sources the name inclosed within a cartouche, and the phonetic value of the characters composing the group designating that name, we find the powers of the hieroglyphs must be pronounced in the same order in which they are written, as pointed out by the arrangement of Young. The exceptions to this rule are, in comparison with the accordances to it, so few that they evidently were for the most part accidental, and at any rate they extend only to characters next to each other in a group, and never to those at its opposite extremities.^a The supposition therefore of M. Champollion is inconsistent not only with reason, but with the practice of the Egyptians, as far as that practice can be ascertained

^a The inversions of characters next to each other which sometimes occur, do not afford a warrant for those of M. Champollion, even when he made them of the hieroglyph which he supposed to have the phonetic power of M and to denote the syllable MAI, with one immediately next to it. For this hieroglyph is uniformly *after* that with which he combined it, though the Coptic would oblige us to read it, if phonetic, as the first part of a compound word; but no instance can be produced of an ascertained inversion uniformly taking place.

by actual observation in clear undisputed cases; and I have only dwelt upon it so long, to show the weakness of the system which rests, either on this support, or on the one before proved to be equally fallacious.

In denying the phonetic nature of the modificatory groups, I do not however wish to be understood as denying the meanings attributed to them: for several of these are known by the Rosetta inscription and through other means to be right. For instance, there can be no doubt whatever but that the group with which I began this discussion was employed as an indication of sex; but the general principles of writing and of language concur in proving that indication to be conveyed in an ideagraphic form; and it can be independently shown that in certain places one part of the combination, the semicircle, could not be phonetic; particular investigation so far serving to confirm the general proof. Thus in the nom cartouches of Nos. 11 and 16 this character occurs in two different combinations, which were admitted by M. Champollion to be ideagraphic, and must be such from necessity, to avoid the supposition of an absurd insertion. Again, where the same character is placed under the sceptre, and also under the bee, the whole combination being translated in the Rosetta inscription by the term *Βασιλεύς*, or king; can it in either position be phonetic, signifying immediately the Coptic preformative $\dagger$, and through that ultimately the feminine gender? Surely the plainest dictates of common sense are opposed to such an application of the sign in this combination. And yet M. Champollion goes the length of asserting that even here it is, under the bee, phonetic, and denotes the feminine gender; because, forsooth, the name of the insect is of that gender in the Coptic language. His words are: “Le troisième signe du groupe No. 270 a. est une *abeille* unie au *segment de sphère* ∇ , signe ordinaire du genre féminin en langue égyptienne; langue dans laquelle le mot ⲁⲓⲛⲉⲃⲓⲱ , *abeille*, *mouche à miel*, est en effet du genre féminin.”—p. 236. So it seems the gender of a denomination does not depend

upon its own meaning or form,^a but upon one or other property of an entirely different word, with which it has no sort of verbal connexion. The bare statement of this principle is sufficient to expose its absurdity: M. Champollion indeed, upon the authority of Horus Apollo (which certainly is entitled to no consideration in comparison with that of the Rosetta stone), makes the bee denote not a king, but an obedient people; an interpretation, however, by which he did not alter the nature of the principle, but only shifted its application.

Of this busy character, whether a semicircle or segment of a sphere, which so frequently appears in hieroglyphic combinations, I conceive the ideagraphic power to be, that of changing an expression from the abstract to a concrete form. What I mean by this will be best understood by illustration. The sceptre is a natural emblem of sovereignty; the bee, of monarchy; and the oval or egg (among writers who were accustomed to express several of the relations of life by figures of birds), of femaleship; but when the subsidiary sign under consideration is added to each of these, we find "sovereignty" changed to "sovereign;" "monarchy" to "monarch;" and "femaleship" to "female." According to this construction I admit that there is a repetition of the royal title before the cartouches, while it appears only once expressed in the Greek translation on the Rosetta stone, but there are numerous undoubted instances on that stone of such repetitions in the ideagraphic writing, without any corresponding ones in the alphabetic part of the inscription. Besides the form of expression which I ascribe to this hieroglyphic group is by no means unusual in language: thus in English legal documents the royal designation is, "our sovereign lord the king." It is evident that a concrete ideagraphic expression, when translated into words, may take the form of an adjective or participle, as well as of a substantive; as for in-

^a In English the gender of a word depends simply on its meaning, in which respect our language has a vast superiority over every other one with which I have any acquaintance.

stance, the concrete of "goodness" is "good." Accordingly where the concretive sign is introduced, we find the meaning to come out "ever-living," instead of "life for ever;" "surnamed," instead of "surname;" "beloved," instead of "attachment or love." Whether this explanation of the character, considered as ideagraphic, be admitted or not; so much at all events is clear—and I have no occasion to prove more—not only that those which have been hitherto given, attributing to it in the above examined places a phonetic power, are wrong; but also that none such could be right.

The last group which I shall here examine is marked No. 23, which, in the fuller and more formal exhibitions of Ptolemy's name on the Rosetta stone, occupies the end of the cartouche. This, in the Greek part of the inscription, is translated ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φθαῶ, so there cannot be any doubt about its meaning; the only point for discussion is to determine how that meaning is conveyed. Dr. Young held the signification of the characters to be ideagraphic, looking on the chain as an emblem of attachment, which, modified by the two preceding hieroglyphs, he made to correspond with ἡγαπημένος, or "beloved;" while he considered the plough as a metaphoric representation of the god *Phthah*, who was the Vulcan of the Egyptians, and, according to information which Eusebius gives upon the authority of Plato, was worshipped by them as inventor of the instruments of war and husbandry. As to the two feathers, which are not an essential part of the group, being sometimes omitted, he conceived that they denoted dignity, and were added to the metaphoric name of *Phthah* as a mark of respect. The plough is sometimes in this group exchanged for a rectangular figure (see bottom of nom cartouches Nos. 8, 9, 10), which probably was intended for a harrow, or some other agricultural implement invented by *Phthah*, since it is, as well as the first one, employed to represent him. On the other hand, M. Champollion asserted that the group was phonetic, and read it PHTHaH-MaI; which word, he maintained, was the old Egyptian expression for "beloved by *Phthah*." Now

I readily admit that the first two characters, when phonetically used, may have the powers of PH and TH, as well as of P and T; and also that the occasional omission of the feathers does not bear against the group being phonetic; since that omission would only cause the preceding character in such group to be employed with a fuller syllabic power; but still to this mode of making out the signification of the group there are objections which are to all appearance insurmountable.

In the first place, there is no authority whatever for a phonetic use of the two middle characters. M. Champollion, indeed, conceived it a sufficient proof that the second of them, the plough, denoted the power of M, because its equivalent, the rectangular figure, does so in the nom cartouche of Domitian. But it is by no means certain that the character to which he referred is the same as that employed in the emperor's cartouche; and even supposing it was, he was still as far as ever from establishing his point; since, in taking it for granted that the equivalence of the rectangular figure and the plough was in the phonetic use of them, he assumed a proposition involving that which he had to prove; the probability too bearing strongly against his assumption, for if these characters were phonetically equivalent, it would be very strange that one of them should be employed with the power of M, and that no instance could be produced of such employment of the other except the disputed one before us. The argument, however, against the phonetic use of the chain is still stronger; for not only is there no proof for appropriating to it the power of H, but there is actually proof against such appropriation; since it has been shown very improbable that the Egyptians had in their system any character at all to denote that power.

In the second place, if we proceed from the characters to the compound word made out of them, general principles bear strongly against the subordinate part of it being an affix; and besides we have of the old Egyptian language, specially preserved, this very part as a prefix, in *Mi-amon*, the surname of one of the ancient kings of Egypt. And although we could

not depend on the accurate preservation of a mere proper name of such antiquity, yet we may be nearly sure that this denomination has been correctly transmitted, because it is composed of an ordinary word of language signifying some modification of love, and of one denoting a favourite god of the Egyptians, which must have been familiar to their ears as long as their religion lasted. In attempting then to get at the signification of the group through the intervention of language there is a double failure; for that is made an affix, which in the old Egyptian must have been a prefix, and after all the expression does not come out tallying with the Greek; as the Coptic MAI does not correspond with ἡγαπημένος, but with ἀγαπῶν, and we have every reason to suppose this short word of frequent occurrence must have been as permanent in its meaning as in its form, and consequently that it expressed the same turn of thought in the original as in the derivative tongue.

In the third place, an instance can be given in which this group was certainly used as an ideographic denomination, and the inference is inevitable that, wherever it is a name, or connected with a name, it must have been employed in like manner. The cartouche No. 24 contains the characters in question, with the sole addition of the wavy line under the feathers and plough, which is evidently non-essential; for, supposing the group ideographic, as it shall be presently proved, this conjunctive sign merely expresses that dignity is to be connected with the name of Phthah, or that the feathers and plough are to be combined in the metaphoric representation of his name, which would be equally understood without the introduction of any such mark to express it. Dr. Young maintained this group to be the name of *Nechao*; and from the number of monuments on which he mentions it to be inscribed, it evidently was that of some distinguished monarch: very possibly therefore it belonged to the personage whom he selected; as there was no one more celebrated among the later sovereigns of the Egyptian race. But his proof that it must have been *Nechao's* cartouche is inconclusive, as it goes on the principle that if names be similar in sound,

they must be so in writing; which is only true, provided that writing be alphabetic or phonetic.^a The testimony, however, is valuable which he gives from Pliny respecting the Flaminian obelisk, in all the middle lines of which this cartouche is conspicuously placed; namely, that it was the work of a prince who reigned in Egypt when Pythagoras visited that country. The inscription of the cartouche is thus brought down within the limit of time from which the knowledge of Greek writing commenced among the Egyptians; and from which their records can in consequence be depended on for giving the names of the sovereigns of Egypt with tolerable correctness. But if the lists of those sovereigns, a few pages further on, be inspected, it will be found that not a single name among them, and particularly not one subsequent to the above-mentioned limit, is like, or in any degree like a word beginning with PT or PHTH, and ending with EN or IN, as that must necessarily do which would be expressed by the group in question, if the characters in it were phonetically employed.^b

^a The following is the passage of Dr. Young above referred to: "We learn from Pliny that the Flaminian obelisk, now standing near the Porto del Popolo at Rome, which was the smaller of the two formerly in the Circus Maximus, placed there by Augustus, and used as the gnomon of a dial, was the work of Senneserteus or Semnesyrtaeus, who reigned in Egypt at the time that Pythagoras visited it. This king seems to have been the same with Psammuthis or Psammis; and the authority of the evidence is so much the stronger, as the period in question is not extremely remote. The father of Psammis, according to Herodotus, was Necos or Nechao. The two names occur on all the middle lines of the obelisk; and that of the father on the pillar of a colossal Isis in the supplement of Montfaucon: the Sallustian obelisk, which seems to have been partly copied from the Flaminian, has them both. In the middle lines of both the obelisks at Luxor we find a name much resembling that of Psammis, which we may therefore call Psammetius, conjecturing that it may have belonged to Psammetichus, who reigned a little earlier: the father's name is not unlike in its import to that of Nechao, both implying 'approved by Phthah;' and it is remarkable that in Manetho's series, the predecessor of Psammetichus is also Nechao."—*Supplement of Enc. Brit. Art. EGYPT*, p. 61.

^b Young understood the goose and disk of the sun at the head of the nom

To the above argument it may be added, that M. Champolion has himself, in another place, assigned to the two initial characters of the group a meaning in close accordance with that arising out of their ideagraphic use. These two characters form No. 9 of his general table, where he explains their signification as follows: “ $\Pi\tau$, *celui qui, celui qui est à ou de.*” But the explanation of the same characters, supposed ideagraphic and combined with the metaphoric sign of *amour*, would be, *celui qui est aimé*; the square having some reference to the idea of person, and the semicircle changing the expression for love from the abstract to a concrete participial form. In various places the context shows that the characters must have such meaning; but to their signifying it through the medium of language, the reasons already stated are all of them strongly and directly opposed.

What further observations I have to make on the ideagraphic portions of the cartouches I must put off to other chapters; and shall now proceed to the consideration of a subject which supplies me with a second proof of the comparative novelty of the Egyptian phonetic system. With this design I beg to lay before the reader a synopsis of the lists of the Egyptian sovereigns, transmitted by Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus; which, as I have not time to compile it from the original authorities, I take from Dr. Young's treatise, without making any alteration farther than correcting some errors which appear

cartouche to signify, not “son of the sun,” but simply “son of;” in consequence of which he sometimes mistook two cartouches belonging to the same individual for designations of different persons; the first for that of a son, and the second for his father's. Whether he made this mistake in the present instance can be determined only by inspection of the ideagraphic signs connecting the two cartouches; but even supposing he did, the reasoning employed in the text would not be thereby affected. For he considered the cartouche in question as that of a father, and therefore it must have been the second of the two; consequently it must have contained the proper name of the man, as surely as if his denomination had been confined to a single cartouche.

to have been occasioned by inadvertence.^a He introduces the subject with the following statement: "That *Menes*, whom many suppose to have been Misraim, the son of Ham, was the first king of Egypt, is fully agreed by all authors; and both Manetho and Eratosthenes make his immediate successor *Athothes*; and, together with Herodotus, mention *Nitocris* as one of the early queens. Besides these coincidences, there are slight resemblances in the names of six or seven of the intermediate personages of the respective lists; but it is impossible to pronounce with confidence, that the circumstance is any thing more than accidental: and, in fact, we find little or no collateral confirmation of the accuracy of any others of the appellations till we come down to the 18th dynasty of Manetho; the Phœnician shepherds, who are referred to the 17th, being little mentioned by other historians, and very few, even of their supposed names, having been preserved by Manetho. But we find a particular catalogue of the 18th dynasty both in Josephus and in Eusebius, bringing us down to the time of Sesostris, with whom the histories of Herodotus and Diodorus may be said to begin. So far, therefore, as the chronology of the kings of Egypt can be recovered from these documents, it will stand nearly as in the subjoined table; the dates being deduced from the lengths of the several reigns as given by Manetho alone, taking the means of the different readings of the numbers, and setting out with the presumption, that the conquest of Psammenitus by Cambyses happened 525 years B. C.

^a The only material error I observed is at the head of Manetho's 19th dynasty, where Dr. Young coupled the names of Sethosis and Sesostris, from a desire to make the different lists agree as far as he possibly could. The similarity of the two names might perhaps have justified this identification of the persons they denoted, if Sesostris had been altogether omitted in the catalogue of the Egyptian priest; and his name probably escaped the notice of our author. But if he had searched farther back, in either the *Chronicon* of Eusebius or the *Chronographia* of Syncellus, he would have seen this king the third in the 12th dynasty; and have found that, according to Manetho's account, there was a difference of more than 1500 years between the times of Sesostris and Sethos.

" ACCORDING TO MANETHO.

XVIII. *Dynasty—Diospolitan.*

	Years.	B. C.
1. Thuthmosis, or Amosis, reigned	24	1774
2. Chebron, his son,	13	1750
3. Amenophthis,	20	1737
4. Ammessis, sister	18	1717
5. Mesphres, son,	16	1699
6. Mispthagmuthosis, s.	23	1683
7. Thmosis, or Thuthmosis, s.	9	1660
8. Amenophis, s. ("Memnon")	31	1651
9. Horus, s.	41	1620
10. Acenchres, daughter,	23	1579
11. Rathotis, brother,	15	1556
12. Acenchres, s.	17	1541
13. Acenchres, ii. s.	11	1524
14. Armaïs, s.	6	1513
15. Ramesses, s.	68	1507
16. Armesses, Mi-amun, s.		
17. Amenophis, or Ammenoph, s.	15	1439

XIX. *Dynasty—Diospolitan.*

18. Sethos, or Sethosis, s.	53	1424
19. Rapsaces,	63	1371
20. Ammenepthes, }	60	1308
21. Ramesis, }		
22. Ammenemes,	15	1248
23. Thuoris,	7	1233

XX. *Dynasty—Diospolitan.*

24....35. Twelve kings,	125	1226
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XXI. *Dynasty—Tanite.*

36. Smendes,	26	1101
37. Psusennes,	41	1075

38. Nephelcheres,	4	1034
39. Amenophthis,	9	1030
40. Osochon,	6	1021
41. Psinaches,	9	1015
42. Psusennes,	35	1006

XXII. *Dynasty—Bubastite.*

43. Sesonchosis	21	971
44. Osorchon	15	950
45. }	25	935
46. }		
47. }		
48. Tacellothis	13	910
49. }	42	897
50. }		
51. }		

XXIII. *Dynasty—Tanite.*

52. Petubastes,	30	855
53. Osorchon,	9	825
54. Psammus,	10	816
55. Zet.	31	806

XXIV. *Dynasty—Saïte.*

56. Bocchoris,	44	775
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XXV. *Dynasty Ethiopian.*

57. Sabacon,	10	731
58. Sevechus,	13	721
59. Tarachus,	19	708

XXVI. *Dynasty—Saïte.*

60. Ammeres,	12	689
61. Stephinates,	7	677
62. Nechepsus,	6	670
63. Nechao,	8	664
64. Psammetichus,	48	656
65. Nechao, ii.	6	608

	Years.	B. C.		Years.	B. C.
66. Psammuthis,	12	602	68. Amosis,	43	568
67. Vaphres,	22	590	69. Psammecheritus,	0	525

“ ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

1. Sesostris, M. 18.
2. Pheron, s.
3. Proteus.
4. Rhampsinitus.
5. Cheops.
6. Chephren.
7. Mycerinus.
8. Asychis.
9. Anysis.
10. Sabachus, M. 57.
11. Sethon, M. 58.
12. Dodecarchia.
13. Psammitichus, M. 64, D. 35.
14. Necos, s. M. 65.
15. Psammis, M. 66.
16. Apries, M. 67, D. 40.
17. Amasis, M. 68, D. 41.
18. Psammenitus, M. 69.

“ ACCORDING TO DIODORUS.

(After Osymandyas and many more.)

1. Sesooosis, M. 18.
2. Sesooosis, ii. s. (Nuncoreus, another son.)
- 3....16. Many generations.
17. ? Ammosis.
18. Actisanes.
19. Mendes, or Marus, (interregnum of five generations.)
20. Cetes, or Proteus, H. 3.
21. Remphis, H. 4.
- 22....28. Nilus and others.
29. Chemmis, H. 5.
30. Cephres, H. 6.
31. Mycerinus, H. 7.
32. Bocchoris, M. 56.
33. Sabbachon, M. 57.
34. Dodecarchia, H. 12.
35. Psammetichus, M. 64, H. 13.
- 36....39. Four generations.
40. Apries, M. 67, H. 16.
41. Amasis, M. 68, H. 17.”

Supp. Enc. Brit. Art. EGYPT, pp. 48. 49.

When it is considered that these three lists were all derived from the very same public documents, the first by a person who himself read them, and the other two by historians who were only one step removed from such immediate reading; surely their appearance affords a most striking illustration of the vague indeterminate nature of the old Egyptian method of recording names. The earlier records which admitted of such various and contradictory readings made by the persons who were most competent to read them, could not, by any conceivable possi-

bility, be phonetically written. This conclusion will be more forcibly impressed on the mind, when it is taken into account, that of the entire catalogues there are parts extant which are still more discordant than those produced, and were omitted by Young because, as can be collected from his prefatory statement, his object was to exhibit the names, as far as he could, harmonizing with each other. It is obviously for this reason, that he mentioned only two names from the list of Eratosthenes, which differs from the three that are given more than any of these differ from each other.^a To confine our attention, however, to what he has placed within view, there may indeed, in some instances, be observed an occasional, or, I should rather say, an accidental approach to agreement between two of the lists, but never between all three, till we come down to Psammetichus. From his name downward there is a very marked improvement as to congruity, both of denomination and of arrangement in the several series; rendering clearly visible the effect which was produced by the introduction of Greek writing into Egypt. This comparison then, I conceive, supplies a second argument strongly corroborative of the preceding one, to show that the limit already assigned has been rightly fixed, and that the Egyptians had no phonetic writing before the age of Psammetichus. The effect under consideration, we see from the lists, was immediate, and not delayed till a phonetic system grew out of acquaintance with Greek writing; which may be easily accounted for. Because, for all names subsequent to this time, there was an external source of information established, by reference to which they could be determined with tolerable pre-

^a In the catalogue of Eratosthenes there are thirty-eight kings, very nearly all of them different from those of Manetho. It is attempted to account for the discrepancy by supposing one writer to have given the kings of Egypt and the other those of Thebes. But from the prodigious extent and magnificence of the ruins still remaining of that city, it is evident that it must have been the metropolis of a great empire; and that the sovereigns of Thebes were the same as those who ruled over Egypt.

cision; and for fixing them the hieroglyphic reader had not to depend, as he had for all preceding ones, solely upon oral tradition. The only room for inaccuracy henceforward must be found in the incorrect representations of foreign names made by the Greeks, and in the incorrect reading of those representations by the Egyptians.

The view of the subject which has been here submitted to the judgment of the reader, supplies the solution of an historic difficulty, which, I believe, has never as yet been satisfactorily explained. When Manetho was directed by Ptolemy Philadelphus to write the history of Egypt, how came it that he was able to multiply so enormously as he did, the number of kings, extending the monarchy backward from the time of Alexander the Great through thirty dynasties, and the space of above five thousand three hundred years? His motive for such amplification may be easily traced to national vanity; but where were his means? Let it be recollected that at the time Egypt abounded with records which could neither be effaced nor concealed, and that if the Egyptian high-priest had attempted to falsify them in a palpable manner he must have been detected; for no doubt he had many kind friends anxious to relieve him from the cares of office, and to—step into his place. These persons would have taken care to expose the attempt; and the inevitable consequence must have been severe punishment, for Ptolemy would never have suffered a manifest imposition practised on him to escape with impunity. But when it is considered that the names in those records were ideagraphically written, and when the nature of that writing is taken into account, then the difficulty is completely removed. Indeed it is most likely that Manetho himself was not aware of the full extent of his deviation from the truth; and even if he was, there was no way for others of detecting this, and proving it against him.

As it is natural to trace similar effects to similar causes, so I apprehend a like solution may be justly given of the extravagant pretensions set up by Chinese historians for the antiquity of their monarchy. In fact from the nature of their graphic system they

have as great latitude for the age they may please to assign to the celestial empire, as if there were no written documents in the country, or rather a much greater latitude, as they have the apparent sanction of such documents to rely upon; and ideagraphy answering all the purposes of ordinary communication, which seldom extend to names much anterior to existing times, its inadequacy in recording older names is not so readily perceived.

Here I have only to add, that the analogy between the chronological exaggerations of the Egyptians and Chinese would have been more striking, if the ideagraphic system of the former people had continued longer in use. This inference may, I conceive, be fairly made from comparing together the statements of Manetho and Diodorus Siculus as to the age of the Egyptian monarchy. The Sicilian writer informs us that, after the fabulous reigns of gods and heroes, the duration of this kingdom under mortal sovereigns was, down to his own time, little short of fifteen thousand years.^a Hence it appears that in the interval between the two historians, which was about two hundred years, the Egyptian priests had nearly trebled the age which they claimed for their monarchy; and if they had gone on to the present day increasing its computed duration at the same rate, the extravagant result would not greatly differ from some accounts of the antiquity of the Chinese empire; accounts which, though rightly rejected by European authors, may still be possibly those that are most generally credited in China.

^a Μυθολογοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τινὲς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄρξαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου θεοὺς τε καὶ ἥρωας ἔτη βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων, καὶ θεῶν ἔσχατον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν Ἰσιδος Ὀρον· ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δὲ τὴν χώραν βεβασιλεῦσθαι φασὶν ἀπὸ μυριάδος ἔτη βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν πεντακισχιλίων μέχρι τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς Ολυμπιάδος.—
Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 44.

CHAPTER V.

NO IMPOSSIBILITY IN THE EXPRESSION OF NAMES BY MEANS OF IDEAGRAPHIC SIGNS—M. CHAMPOLLION'S ATTEMPT TO DECIPHER THE OLDER CARTOUCHES AFFORDS NO PROOF OF AN EXTREME ANTIQUITY OF PHONETIC WRITING IN EGYPT—THE EVIDENCE OF MANETHO'S CANON IS NOT AT ALL CORROBORATED BY THE TABLE OF ABYDOS—CONJECTURE AS TO THE NATURE OF THAT TABLE.

THE chief objection against the older hieroglyphs of the Egyptians having been wholly employed with ideagraphic powers, appears to be founded on the notion that names could not possibly be expressed by characters so used.^a The fallacy of this notion has been already exposed in a preceding chapter, where it was shown, not only that a proper name might be represented by ideagraphic marks, but also that, as long as it was in familiar use, it could be suggested to our thoughts in this way almost as readily as by alphabetic writing; the mind of a reader passing

^a From the general accuracy of M. Klaproth, I was surprised to find him countenance this principle, by representing it as one which occurred to men of learning, when they began to form correct opinions on the subject. He does so at the very outset of his *Critique* in the following terms: "Cependant des notions plus justes sur la véritable nature de l'écriture hiéroglyphique avaient déjà commencé à trouver place dans les esprits. Zoëga avait pensé que plusieurs hiéroglyphes avaient dû être employés comme signes de sons, et les appelle, pour cette raison, *phonétiques*. La conjecture de Zoëga [the conjecture did not at all originate with this author, but had been started long before by Kircher] n'avait d'abord fait aucune impression sur les personnes occupées de l'étude des anciennes écritures égyptiennes; elles suivaient au contraire dans leurs travaux l'ancien système en regardant la masse des hiéroglyphes comme signes idéographiques ou symboliques. Ce fut seulement après la découverte de l'inscription de Rosette que les savans se trouvèrent assez généralement amenés à penser que ce procédé était le seul par lequel les anciens Egyptiens avaient pu exprimer des noms propres étrangers et nationaux."—*Exam. Crit.* p. 3.

so instantaneously from the characters to the idea of the individual, and from this again to the combination of articulate sounds associated therewith, as to be nearly unconscious of any intermediate step in the process between the writing and the name. Any reasoning on the subject, however, was not necessary, except for the purpose of explaining the nature of the proceeding; since the possibility of ideagraphic denominations is proved beyond dispute by instances of their actual employment, which can be selected from various places and ages of the world. Thus in China all names but foreign ones are, up to the present time, ideagraphically written: and I confess it appears very strange to me, how men of learning on the Continent, with this fact staring them full in the face, could be induced to think, as the generality of them are by M. Klaproth represented to do, that the only possible way of expressing names, whether foreign or national, is by means of phonetic signs.

Again, in Europe the combinations of marks worn on the shields of officers, in those ages when the face was by defensive armour concealed from view, were strictly ideagraphic; and, as they enabled the soldiery to recognize the wearers, they virtually, to their apprehensions, served the purpose of written names. These combinations were the foundation of what are now called "coats of arms," and, however they may be explained in modern heraldry, it is quite evident, from the use to which they were at first applied, that their constituent parts were originally intended to denote the qualities by which the persons on whose shields they appeared, were supposed to be distinguished. Thus the sign of the cross, which so frequently meets the eye among those marks, was an emblem of devotedness to the Christian religion, and the repetition of it implied an intensity of the feeling. As to the precise number of them employed in each combination, their arrangement and their shape, these are technical points which it belongs to heraldry to account for: my object is to consider only the first and simplest efforts of the kind to form badges, whereby certain persons might be

known and distinguished from each other. Thus also the figure of the lion, so commonly used for the same purpose, was a natural emblem of strength and courage; and since this, as well as the former one, was a very favourite sign among knights, it became necessary to derive subdistinctions from particular circumstances, for instance, from the direction in which the animal was looking, and from its posture; in order that several might have it engraved among their insignia, and yet not be confounded with each other. In like manner the original use of various other signs might be detailed: of many of them, I admit, it is very difficult now to perceive what was, or could have been the immediate meaning; and perhaps it would puzzle even heralds to determine the point. But that, in their general nature, they were all of them ideagraphic marks, is a position which does not admit of the slightest doubt. And in barbarous ages, when but a very small portion of an army could read or write, these marks enabled the soldiery to recognize and distinguish their officers far better than alphabetic characters would have done. However, if we consider the matter, we shall find that this recognition was in itself a species of reading; confined, it is true, to a very limited use; yet still, as far as that use reached, it was essentially ideagraphic reading, as much as any now practised in China. The soldier knew by the assemblage of marks the person who bore them on his shield, and this person he was in the habit of calling by a certain name; so that he passed, without dwelling on the intermediate idea, instantly from one extreme of the process to the other, as he would from a sign to the thing signified; that is, in his conception the marks had the same relation to the officer's name, that a written denomination has to a spoken one. The few, however, who at the time understood alphabetic writing, looked upon the same marks in a light somewhat different. Being acquainted with a superior mode of designation, they did not consider those marks as the name of the officer, but only as an appendage of his name; as what M. Champollion might have called a *prenom cartouche*; and if we compare any assemblage of them with an Egyptian *prenom*, we

shall be at once struck with the close resemblance which they have to each other. Figure 25, Plate II., represents the shield of a Norman knight who served in the army with which Strongbow invaded Ireland; but to connect it, for the sake of illustration, with a name better known in history, let it for a moment be supposed to have been that worn by the general himself. If then a soldier of that army had been asked what was engraved upon the shield, he would have answered, that it was the sign of Strongbow; or, in other words, it was the engraved or graphic name of that general. But if the person questioned was acquainted with letters, his reply would have been, that the engraving was "a lion rampant with crosses two and one;" or he would have expressed himself in some other terms to this effect. The difference in the account given of the same engraving by a lettered and unlettered reader it will be useful to bear in mind, when we come to the Greek reading of the ideographic part of the larger cartouches, representing Ptolemy's name in the Rosetta inscription.

But the instances which are most apposite to the decision of the question at issue, are presented to us by the Egyptian writing itself. It is allowed by every one acquainted with the subject that, in order to express the names of the gods, ideographic signs were employed in that writing: indeed the fact cannot be denied, for there may be seen in the hieroglyphic inscriptions still extant no less than three varieties of such designations: 1. Pictures; 2. Emblems; 3. Collections of Emblems. Thus, in reference to the first class, the pictural name of Osiris is the representation of a man with the face of a hawk;^a that of Isis is

^a It is only in the older legends that this figure is a pictural character, corresponding with the proper name Osiris. This deity was so universally worshipped in Egypt that, in the course of time, his likeness came to represent a whole class of gods, and became a mimetic tropic corresponding to a general term. It was then necessary to add one or more attributes to the image, in order to confine it to the designation of an individual; and thus in the cartouches of Nos. 7, 9, 10, 32, we see that, with the addition of the sun's disk

found to be the figure of a female with a throne, or the disk of the moon, on her head; and those of Ammon and the god of the sun are exhibited in the prenom cartouches of Nos. 7, 9, 10. In reference to the second class, may be mentioned the metaphoric name of Isis, which is a throne, accompanied only by the ideagraphic combination expressive of the feminine gender; and that of Phthah, which has been proved to be one or other of two hieroglyphs, that were probably the figures of the Egyptian plough and harrow, each invention being employed to denote the inventor's name. With respect to the third class, it will be sufficient to quote the characteristic name of Osiris, which consisted of an eye and a throne, united in one group.^a Now this last specimen of an ideagraphic denomination supplies, not merely a case analogous to those which I have to establish, but actually one of those very cases; for the god Osiris differed from the older kings of Egypt only in having been a still more ancient sovereign than they; and there is just a correspondent difference in their names, the number of characteristic signs in each group naturally increasing with the progress of the graphic art; so that although there are only two such signs in the legend of Osiris, there are always found three or more in the royal cartouches.

As the name under consideration is on all sides admitted to

over its head, and the emblem of life in its hand, it exhibited the portrait, and thence the proper name, of the god of the sun.

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In the second place, although an alphabetic reader would call this group "an eye and a throne," yet the Egyptian did not read it by pronouncing either those words or the qualities which they metaphorically denoted, but proceeded onward to its ultimate signification, and read it "Osiris." Suppose him then, in the case of any other name, as, for instance, that of Psammeticus, not familiar with the phonetic mode of denoting it, he would not have verbally expressed the prenom of that prince by the terms "splendour, graciousness, and peaceableness" (or whatever else the third emblem might signify); but he would have read it at once "Psammeticus." The association between the qualities in the character of this individual and the articulate sounds in his name was, I admit, entirely arbitrary; but just equally so is that between the alphabetic group "Psammeticus" and the same articulate sounds.^a The only difference in point of arbitrariness

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is, that in the former case the connexion was made between the combination of characteristic attributes and the entire collection of sounds, but in the latter it is between the separate letters of the group and the separate elements of the verbal name. The difference however that hence results in the permanence of signification and in other important respects is immense. As the elements of articulate sounds are very limited in number, the letters which denote them are few; and as some or other of these must be employed in every word we read or write, they are of constant occurrence; for both which reasons the connexion between them and what they signify is as indelibly fixed in the mind as if it was natural, and not founded in mere arbitrary compact; and if an alphabetic reader forgot the name "Psammeticus," these letters presented to his eye would recall it to memory, as instantaneously and as accurately as if it had been one to which he was most familiarly accustomed. On the other hand the combinations of articulate sounds in names are endless, and many of them consequently are seldom or never used. A system of denominations therefore, which has reference solely to combinations, can be efficient only for a very small portion of their whole number—for that portion which is at any assigned time in familiar use. As soon as the connexion between a written and a sounded combination is loosened by disuse, and the latter one is in consequence forgotten, the system affords no means of recovering it; and if it be recorded by no other species of writing it is for ever lost. The greatest skill in hieroglyphs would in this case only show the reader the

and not know the person pointed out by it? Still the second link of the association—that which connects the person with the name—is as arbitrary here as in any other case, and its duration can be only coeval with its constant use. However deeply then the memory of Nelson is now fixed in the affections of his country and in the admiration of the world, still if his name were to be recorded only by means of such writing, it would, after a few centuries, be entirely lost, and no more recoverable from the general mass of articulate sound, than the mortal remains of the hero could then be distinguished from their kindred earth.

meaning of the separate figures in a cartouche, but not enable him to recall the name that had been arbitrarily associated with their combination: and in every case the degree of accuracy with which he could read the ideagraphic group would depend upon circumstances entirely distinct from the writing itself, viz. on the accuracy of his own memory, and the accuracy of the tradition by which the verbal denomination had been transmitted to him. Another great imperfection of such system is, that, there being in it no reference whatever of the separate elements of the combined signs to those of the combined articulate sounds, two cartouches may be nearly the same in their component parts, and yet denote names quite different; or they may be entirely different, and yet signify the same name; in which latter case they correspond to homophones, or different letters of the same power, they and their common signification being, in this use of them, looked upon and treated as if they were as single and uncompounded as the subjects to which I have just compared them.

This leads me to the third observation which I have to make on the characteristic name of Osiris. Plutarch records the group to have consisted of *an eye and a sceptre*;^a whereas in

^a Τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὀσirin ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκῆπτρῳ γράφουσι.—PLUTARCHI *de Iside et Osiride liber*. Paris, folio edition, 1624, vol. ii. p. 354. Immediately subjoined to this sentence is the following one: Ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ τ' οὖνομα διερμηνεύουσι πολυόφθαλμον, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ὄς, τὸ πολὺ· τοῦ δὲ ἱρί τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Ἀιγυπτία γλώττῃ φράζοντες. This passage of Plutarch is valuable, as it restores two words of a lost language, one of which enables us to account for the power given to the sceptre in the phonetic system of Egypt. For as there are places in the Rosetta inscription which prove that this character signified the idea of "great," it is evident, from the second sentence of the passage, that the Egyptian must have read it by the word OS: whence it is obvious that in using it phonetically he would make it equivalent to S, or some simple syllable having S for its consonant. The etymology of the word Osiris is also interesting, although only given as a conjecture; since it shows the *possibility* of one of the old hieroglyphic names having had a direct reference to a spoken one. For, as the ancient Egyptian read the sceptre by the term *Os*, and the eye by *Iri*, he

the legends now in existence it is always *an eye and a throne*, followed by a mimetic or metaphoric sign of divinity. The diversity of designation could not in this instance have caused any inconvenience to the Egyptians; because, as long as their Pagan religion lasted, the word Osiris must have been in constant familiar use among them, and therefore might have been readily and accurately suggested to them by various combinations. Indeed if Plutarch was right in deriving the name from two ordinary words of their language, this property of it would have also preserved it correct in their memories, notwithstanding any discrepancy between the hieroglyphic groups by which it was expressed. But the case was very different for names, which were liable to be, through disuse, forgotten; and it is easy to see that the greatest confusion would in after-ages arise from such names

might, by their junction, have directly expressed Osiris. This combination indeed would not be phonetic, since its two ingredients would retain their distinct significations as much as the parts of *Βοῶπις* do in Homer's title of Juno; but though ideagraphic, it still would have a great superiority over characteristic denominations not having such reference to spoken names. However it is very doubtful whether Plutarch intended to represent the written name under consideration as having been employed in this manner. It is true that he mentions the elements of the graphic denomination immediately before those of the verbal one; but if he meant to inform us that the former were by the Egyptian reader directly connected with the latter, he would, it is most likely, have stated this expressly, or at least he would have arranged the two hieroglyphs in the order fitted for such connexion, and have placed the sceptre before the eye. Besides, a little farther on in the same treatise he actually gives an explanation of this hieroglyphic group exactly agreeing with my theory as to the nature of pure ideagraphic denominations. Τὸν δὲ Ὅσιριν αὖ πάλιν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γραφούσι, ὧν τὸ μὲν τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐμφαίνει, τὸ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, p. 371. On the whole then the probability must be considered as leaning to the inference, that this name of Osiris, like the one now extant, composed of an eye and a throne, was only of the common ideagraphic kind, having no direct reference to any thing but the qualities, which were supposed to characterize the individual in question. Indeed we have no certainty of the above-described peculiar use of a graphic name having ever been made by the Egyptian, till we come down to the time of the Ptolemies; and it may then have been suggested to him by his acquaintance with phonetic signs.

being each designated by more combinations than one. For, in consequence, the representations of one sovereign might be mistaken for those of a whole series of kings; so that in a record thus written, not only would the verbal names of the principal actors be lost, but also it would be impossible to ascertain how many were engaged in conducting the train of transactions therein described. However when the practice of giving a plurality of graphic denominations to the same person was once introduced, the natural course of events would be, that, from the vanity of princes and the adulation of courtiers, the abuse would go on increasing, till some of the inconveniencies arising out of it came to be sensibly felt, or till the advantage of phonetic denominations came to be learned; and then the evil would be suddenly checked. The appearance of the genealogical table of Abydos affords, I conceive, indications of a process of this kind having actually taken place; but I do not so far rely on the point as to make it exclusively the ground of any inference. However this conjecture, as to the nature of the table, will, I am in hopes, be found less liable to objection than any which has been as yet proposed: my reasons in support of it I shall soon have an opportunity of submitting to the reader's judgment.

Pictural denominations are not liable to the abuse which has been just considered, because two that are totally different cannot be immediately referred to the same object. Still they are just as inadequate memorials of sound as either of the other kinds; and how unavailing they are to the purposes of a lasting record is strongly marked by the fact, that although the portrait of the god of the sun is easily recognized by the disk over his head (see prenom cartouches of Nos. 7, 9, 10), yet it is now a matter of great uncertainty, by what proper name the Egyptians distinguished this most remarkable of all the fictitious deities of the Pagan world. I admit that in the hieroglyphic combination of a goose and circle prefixed to the royal nom cartouches, and in the corresponding title of "son of the sun," given to Epiphanes in the Rosetta inscription, the image, and, in conse-

quence, the name of the luminous body appear to be substituted for those of the deity presiding over it; but the question here is about, not the metonymic, but the proper denomination of this imaginary being. The Coptic for the sun is *Re*, or, with the article, *Phre*; whence Young supposed that the god was also properly called by one or other of these names;^a and M. Champollion, according to his usual practice, adopted the opinion without acknowledging the source from which he had derived it: however there are strong objections to its correctness. It is true that *Re* is a word of such kind that, we have reason to think, it suffered no change from transition into a derivative tongue; and therefore it most probably was the very term signifying the sun in the old Egyptian language; but to suppose that the god and the luminary were therein immediately designated by the same appellation, is contrary to the analogy of ancient languages. For as far as the practice of former times can be ascertained, in every country the two ideas were expressed by entirely different words. Thus while the deity was called *Phæbus* or *Apollo* by both Greeks and Romans, the orb over which he presided was termed *Helios* by the former people, and *Sol* by the latter; and while, through the regions of the east in which the Shemitic languages prevailed, he was denominated *Baal* or *Bel*, the name for the heavenly body was *Shemesh* or *Kheres*, or some modification of these words. The supposition is also contrary to the analogy of Egyptian writing; in which there is a marked difference between the pictural designations of the two objects, showing that the Egyptians had very different conceptions of them in their thoughts, whence it is very unlikely that they would have confounded them under a com-

^a “—— the circle alone having been mentioned by some of the Greek authors, who say, that it was the symbol of the sun. The deity *Re* or *Phre* is indicated by this character, followed by an upright bar; and the circle is often enveloped in the coil of the body of a serpent; an oval [i. e. what is now generally called a mouth] and an arm also often follow the circle.”—*Supp. of Encyc. Brit. Art. EGYPT*, p. 56.

mon appellation.^a M. Champollion indeed, in his table of plates, No. 237, *a*, gives a mouth over an extended arm, as a phonetic designation, frequently preceded by a circle; which group was before observed by Young (as may be seen in the quotation from him contained in the last note); and if it be found in the legends of later date, it may be admitted to be phonetic. But what does it in that case prove? it merely confirms the inference already deduced from general principles, that *Re* was the old Egyptian name for the sun, but gives us no information whatever as to the name of the god.

If from determining what was not, we proceed to inquire what was, the proper Egyptian denomination of this deity, we shall find the question involved in much obscurity. The hieroglyphic portrait here affords us no assistance, because, although the ground-work is the figure of Osiris, yet it is to be considered that this figure became, in process of time, the representation, not of a particular god, but of any one of an entire class of such beings. There are, however, authorities of some weight in favour of *Osiris* being the very appellation for which we are in search. Papinius Statius, at the end of the first book of his *Thebais*, in a solemn prayer to Phœbus, after enumerating several names by which the god was called in different places, subjoins *Osiris* among those by which it was more particularly right to invoke him.^b And Macrobius, in his *Saturnalia*, gives him

^a This reason could not have occurred to Young; because, as may be seen from the last note, he thought the god and luminary were in common represented by a circle; but the inconsistency presses against M. Champollion, who found out that they were designated by very different pictures, yet persevered in the opinion that they were immediately and properly called by the same name.

^b Phœbe Parens, seu te . . .

 Adsis O memor hospitii, Junoniaque arva
 Dexter ames: seu te roseum Titana vocari
 Gentis Achemeniæ ritu, seu præstat Osirim
 Frugiferum, seu Persei sub rupibus antri
 Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.

the very same denomination.^a On the other hand, Plutarch in a formal treatise on the Egyptian Mythology, states it to be recorded in the books attributed to Hermes, that the power presiding over the revolution of the sun was named *Horus*, and by the Greeks *Apollo*;^b while in another part of the same treatise he identifies this deity with *Arueris*, who, he informs us, was called the elder *Horus* by the Egyptians, and *Apollo* by the Greeks.^c Now as Statius and Plutarch lived in times when the Egyptians were under the dominion of Rome, and when their Pagan religion was still in full force, they must be considered as competent witnesses on this subject; particularly the latter, who went to Egypt for the purpose of acquiring at the fountain head a more accurate knowledge of the learning of that country. From one of these writers then, not only differing from the other, but also in some measure disagreeing with himself as to the proper name of the solar deity, it may be inferred that the Egyptians themselves were neither steady nor unanimous in their opinion on this point. Nothing surely could more strongly prove the imperfection of their ancient graphic system. From some religious scruple they did not avail themselves of the improved method of designation in expressing the name of this god, but

^a "Neque aliud esse Osirim quam solem."—*Saturnalia*, lib. i. cap. 21. The metonymy in this passage is just the converse of that attributed to the Egyptians in the case before us. Macrobius here changes Osiris from the name of a person to that of a thing; while on the other hand the Egyptians are supposed to have changed Re from the name of a thing to that of a person; which possibly they did sometimes, but certainly not always; and consequently it cannot in any proposed case be admitted without special proof, that they distinguished this imaginary personage by such metonymic appellation.

^b 'Εν δὲ ταῖς Ἑρμοῦ λεγομέναις βίβλοις ἱστοροῦσι γεγράφθαι περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένην δύναμιν, Ὡρον, Ἕλληνες δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι.—*De Iside et Osiride Lib.* vol. ii. p. 375.

^c "Ενιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀρούηριν οὕτω γεγονέναι, καὶ καλεῖσθαι πρεσβύτερον Ὡρον ὑπ' Ἀιγυπτίων, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων.—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 356.

confined their attention to his old ideagraphic denominations, and principally to the pictural one. The consequence was, that although the portrait remained the same, the spoken name, which it was supposed to denote, changed and veered about with much of the unsteadiness attendant upon oral tradition; and had not the evil been checked by the existence of alphabetic records (which all could not be prevented, by ignorance of Greek writing or by superstition, from consulting on the subject), this changeableness and confusion would have been still more strikingly apparent.

I now proceed to give a brief outline of the modification of Young's method, by which it is endeavoured to make out phonetic writing among the more ancient designations of Egyptian kings. Here we shall find every thing, connected with the signs employed, to be involved in darkness and uncertainty, both as to the separate powers attributed to them, and as to the names assumed to be represented by their combinations. In the case of Young's discovery, the names denoted by certain hieroglyphic groups were previously ascertained from sources quite independent of those groups: and, though it was at first merely assumed that the characters of which they consisted were phonetically used, yet the consequences that followed were such as not only to confirm the original assumption, but also to establish very nearly to a certainty the particular phonetic power of each character; and it was not till after a sufficient number of those powers had been legitimately fixed, that it was attempted to decipher other hieroglyphic denominations without previously discovering, through some external means of information, the words which they signified. But in the mode of applying the method which now comes under consideration, the names supposed to be expressed by the groups are unknown; the phonetic powers of several of the characters are also unknown; and it is not even certain that those characters are phonetically used.

To make the foregoing observations more easily and clearly understood, I shall apply them to the name *Thuthmosis*, which will serve as a sample of an entire class; and I select it as the

highest in Manetho's list which M. Champollion has attempted to decipher, he maintaining that it is phonetically expressed by the group in the nom cartouche of the pair marked No. 26; or in his general table of plates, No. 110. Now, in the first place, with respect to this word, we have no certainty of its being a real denomination, that is, no certainty that any one ever really existed who was so called. The only authority we have for the reality of the name is that of Manetho; for Josephus, Julius Africanus (as preserved by Syncellus), and Eusebius have merely quoted it after him: and to show that his authority is of no value, I might refer to what has been already proved, it having been made out, 1. highly probable that all Egyptian writing was ideographic till within about three hundred years of his time, and, 2. certain that he could not have read names which had been written in that manner so long before him. But I wish to keep the proof of the limit of the commencement of phonetic writing among the Egyptians quite distinct from the subject now before me; and to establish the incompetency of Manetho as a witness to the question at issue, it will be sufficient to recall the attention of the reader to the three lists of Egyptian kings given at the end of last chapter. If this historian and the priests, from whom Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus derived their information, really knew how to make out the names represented in the old cartouches, it is impossible that their versions of the same public legends could have been so discrepant. If it be said that the discrepance only proves two of the three authorities to be wrong, then how is it to be determined which of them was right? If the balance of opinion should here incline in favour of Manetho, it is to be observed that he was discredited^a by Eratosthenes, who, in the next gene-

^a I do not here bring forward as a general ground of discredit against him, that where he and Moses describe the same transactions, they are entirely at variance with each other; as may be seen by comparing, for instance, his account of the expulsion from Egypt of the *Hycsos*, or captive shepherds (quoted by Josephus in the first part of his Answer to Apion), with the his-

ration published a very different list of the Egyptian sovereigns, and who, besides being the most learned man of his age, had great opportunities of information respecting Egypt, from his being keeper of the Alexandrian library. But the fact is, neither general learning nor special information on this subject could aught avail; and the great probability is, that all the catalogues are, with respect to the more ancient names, entirely wrong: certainly the appearance which they present is fully accounted for by the supposition, that they were all made by persons who had nothing to guide them but oral tradition and conjecture. Some farther indications of the verbal significations attributed to the older cartouches having been formed at random, shall be pointed out as I go on; but here I am more immediately concerned with those transmitted by Manetho, as reported by the writers who have preserved for us extracts from his history; and I have to observe that, even if his own account of the matter could be depended on, yet, as it now appears in their works, it is a very unsafe guide for our direction. If we look for the name which I have selected as a specimen in their several catalogues, we shall find it written in a great variety of ways. Dr. Young has given three variations of the word, viz. *Thuthmosis*, *Amosis*, and *Thmosis*; the first two of which occur in both Eusebius and Syncellus; and along with the last, two more, *Θούμμωσις* and *Τέθμωσις*, may be seen in the text of Josephus; who, as he lived so much nearer than the others to the time of Manetho, probably made a more accurate quotation from that author's work. These variations appear in the best editions of the several texts, exclusively of the *variae lectiones*

tory contained in the book of Exodus: and my reason for omitting this argument is, because it would have no weight with some of the persons with whom I have to deal. I wish therefore, by quite other means, to prove the absolute vagueness and uncertainty of the method of deciphering names now under consideration; and thus to point out to the reader the true nature of the instrument by which M. Champollion endeavoured to effect the double object of establishing the historic credit of Manetho and overturning that of the Bible.

in the accompanying notes, which, if taken into consideration, would greatly increase the number. Now as so much inconsistency and discordance on the subject are observable in the text of the principal transcriber, it is very unlikely that the original record was free from all symptoms of unsteadiness; particularly as such symptoms can be clearly brought home to Manetho in another name of his list; which I shall soon have an opportunity of showing. But with respect to the name now before us, whether any part of the fault is to be attributed to the Egyptian historian or not, it is at all events certain that we are at present totally unable to determine the exact combination of sounds which originally constituted that name.

In the second place, there is no certainty that in the cartouche selected by M. Champollion the ingredients were phonetically used: on the contrary, the certainty would lie on the other side of the question, if we were sure that this cartouche denoted Thuthmosis, and that Manetho wrote the word in the different ways that have been specified; because, on the supposition of the powers of the characters being phonetic (unless indeed those powers were of a very different nature from any hitherto ascertained to have been employed by the Egyptians), he could make no variations in the alphabetic expression of the name, except in the vowel part of the syllables entering its composition. In whatever degree then it be probable that he was, beyond such variations, inconstant in his mode of writing Thuthmosis, in the same degree is it improbable that the group under consideration phonetically signified that term. Besides, if we look to the last character in the prenom of this legend, we shall find there a beetle, with three small vertical lines under it; which is rightly construed by M. Champollion, "*des mondes*," for the beetle tropically denoted the world, and the lines connected with it served to point out that it was to be understood in the plural number. But there are no modifying signs of any kind in the older cartouches, so the introduction here of such signs marks a later style, and the legend must have been insculped after the age of Psammeticus; in whose prenom, it may

be observed, the more ancient mode of writing was still retained. Now from the time of this prince downward the three catalogues agree tolerably well, and consequently may be depended on for exhibiting the names with some approach to correctness; but there is not in this part of them either Thouthmosis or any word in the remotest degree like Thouthmosis. We may therefore be nearly certain that, with whatever name in the latter part of the lists the nom cartouche before us was connected, the relation between them was not of a phonetic, but only of an ideagraphic nature. The probability here will be somewhat strengthened, if a satisfactory construction can be made out on the supposition of the characters being ideagraphically used. With respect to the first hieroglyph, there can be no dispute with those maintaining M. Champollion's opinion, because he virtually admitted it to be ideagraphic; for it was from the stork metaphorically denoting the idea of a certain god, that he inferred it denoted the word Thoth. If then we stop short at the immediate signification attributed to this emblem, we have, in the first place, the imaginary deity whom a king of unknown name chose for his patron; and from the size of the figure employed, it is evident that the expression of this circumstance was intended for the most important feature of his personal character; so that it nearly corresponds with what, in the Greek style of translation would be rendered ἡγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. The second feature of this moral picture appears to be the luminous body, with sparks falling from it, which occurs in the ninth and tenth lines of the hieroglyphic part of the Rosetta inscription, and is known by the corresponding Greek to signify *resplendent*. The third and last sign is the sceptre, with the form of a pastoral crook, which Dr. Young found in some situations, where it must have denoted the idea of *greatness*; and this signification tallies with its well-known phonetic power of either S, or some simple syllable with S for its consonantal part; which power it most probably derived, as has been already stated, through the old Egyptian word OS, certified to us by Plutarch to have had the

very meaning under consideration. The whole group therefore may have been a characteristic representation, exhibiting immediately signs for the three attributes of, *the protection of a particular god, resplendence, and grandeur*; and mediately, through an arbitrary association with these attributes, some name now totally unknown. To all this it may be added, *ex abundanti*, in favour of the ideagraphic nature of the group, that there is a variation of it extant (see No. 27), differing from it only in having for the last ingredient a character denoting *goodness*, instead of *greatness*; which character is on all sides admitted to be ideagraphically used in the Rosetta inscription with the signification just mentioned, and cannot in any instance be shown to have had a phonetic power.

In the third place, let us for a moment suppose the group phonetic, and see how far our chance of arriving at the name it represented is thereby improved. Now, 1. Granting that the figure of a stork, by being used as the emblem of a particular god, may have become the ideagraphic expression of his name, *Thoth* or *Thouth*, what proof have we that the Egyptians ever employed any of their characters with the phonetic powers of the articulate sounds of entire words, in their denotation of other words of greater length? None whatever. M. Champollion indeed assumed that they attached such powers to certain characters in the present and other instances; but he did so in direct opposition to his own repeated assertion, that the Egyptian phonetic system, as far back as ever it can be traced, was exactly the same as it appears in the designation of Greek and Roman names. And although the analogy of Chinese practice makes in favour of the assumption, still it has never yet been verified by the establishment of a single case in its support. 2. Granting that the Egyptians, in their first use of phonetic signs, did actually employ some of them with mixed phonetic powers, such as that attributed to the particular character now under consideration, what proof derived from external circumstances have we, that the hieroglyphic group headed by it, is that which Manetho read by the name that is the first and seventh in

his 18th dynasty? None whatever. 3. Supposing it ascertained that the group did actually correspond to the alphabetic name just described, what proof have we that the Egyptian historian wrote that name with *Thoth* or *Thouth* for its initial syllable? None whatever; or at any rate none that can be depended on. The evidence for such commencing syllable, it has been already shown, is contradictory; and the principal evidence is against it, as the name so written does not appear at all in the text of Josephus. 4. Granting all three points made out in favour of the present mode of deciphering the group, and consequently some probability of the initial hieroglyph here denoting the word *Thouth*, divested, for the purpose, of its meaning, and employed phonetically as a mere syllable, what confirmation have we of this from finding the character in any other group, where it is legitimately proved to have the same mixed phonetic power? None whatever. Now as we have not any of those points ascertained for our assistance, it is quite impossible for us to determine what the hieroglyph in question phonetically expresses. If indeed we had an adequate knowledge of both the ideagraphic system and the language of the ancient Egyptians, we should not then require such aid, but could, upon mere inspection of the cartouches, decipher characters having powers of the nature here attributed to the stork: just as the Chinese now read with accuracy and ease foreign names so written in their system. But in the state of ignorance upon the subject in which we are placed, it is vain to think of advancing without external help: certainly without securing at least the second and third of the steps which have been described, we could not make the slightest progress in the investigation. But as we are so completely in the dark as to the whole group denoting Thouthmosis, and the first figure of it Thouth; the direct proof of the middle one being employed with the power of M, or some simple syllable including M, entirely falls to the ground. And though there is some appearance of the character having such power elsewhere, yet the probability thence arising of its having it here also, is by no means sufficiently strong to compensate for the

total want of more direct evidence on the subject. The only point respecting the entire group which admits of certainty is, that *if* it be phonetic, its last character has the power of S: and even to the extent of this hypothetic truth our knowledge of the second group does not reach, for on a like supposition, with respect to its nature, there is not a single character in it of whose phonetic power we should be certain.

In the fourth place, though some applications of this method are not pressed with all the difficulties which have been detailed under the above heads; yet in every instance the cartouche attempted to be thus deciphered, either cannot be shown to be of older date than the reign of Psammetichus, or it cannot be made out to be phonetic. M. Champollion's attempt, therefore, to establish, by means of this method, an extreme antiquity of phonetic writing in Egypt is a total failure. I might perhaps be justified in stating in a stronger manner each of the points on which this conclusion rests; but the determining them negatively is sufficient, when combined with the positive limitations of the age of the writing which have been already given. It surely must add considerably to the probability of the correctness of those limitations, if it be shown that the only proof attempted to be brought against the boundary of time which they supply, is utterly invalid; and when the additional arguments in a subsequent chapter on the positive side of the question are taken into consideration, I apprehend that no reasonable doubt can remain on the mind as to the above-mentioned boundary having been rightly fixed.

There are but two of M. Champollion's decipherings of the kind under consideration which can, I conceive, be fairly excepted from the more general description, and brought under the special cases of the last paragraph. He has endeavoured to make out *Remeses* or *Rameses* from the nom cartouche of No. 28 (which pair, with different variations, occupies the whole of the lowest row of the table of Abydos); and *Amenophis* out of that of pair No. 30, or 111 in the general plates of the *Précis*. Now, I admit, there is reason to think the bottom

group of the former cartouche is phonetic; but then there is no proof whatever of its being older than the age of Psammetichus; on the contrary, there are strong grounds for assigning to it a much later date. Again, the prenom of the second legend may be admitted to be very old, but then it certainly is ideagraphic, and as to the nom cartouche of same legend there is no proof of its being phonetic, or, supposing it such, there is no proof of its having been written at the same time as the prenom; on the contrary, there are grounds for thinking it was written subsequently, or if it was not, a very decisive reason can then be brought to prove that it must have been ideagraphic. If, however, the reader should not go along with me to the full extent of the positive conclusions at which I arrive; I request him to remember that the negative ones are all which the course of my argument requires to be established.

The bottom of the nom cartouche of the former legend is thus deciphered by M. Champollion. The first character denoted an idea which was either properly or metonymically by the Egyptians called RE, and so it ideagraphically expressed RE. This character he here assumes to represent the same sound, employed as a phonetic element, and divested for the moment of the meaning by which that sound had been arrived at. The second character he assumes to have the power of M; and the third and fourth are known to be, when phonetically used, each of them equivalent to an S, or some simple syllable including S. Thus from the group is derived the word REMeSeS or RE-MaSiS, external circumstances not affording the means of completely fixing the second and third syllables; and even the first one varying in its vocal part between E and A from the very confused use that was made of vowels by the Egyptians.

Here I may remark that those persons are inconsistent with themselves, who argue for the older Egyptian names having been phonetically written, on the ground of a supposed impossibility of their being ideagraphically expressed; and yet admit ideagraphic expressions as elements of phonetic denominations. In fact, to be fully in accordance with their own tenet, they

ought to deny altogether the whole phonetic system of the Egyptians; for the later powers employed in Greek and Roman designations were equally derived from ideagraphic names, no matter whether of persons or of things. The only difference between those powers and the one now under consideration is, that in their formation the process was carried a step farther, by going onward from the word ideagraphically expressed to the initial element of that word. For my own part I see no more impossibility in ideagraphically denoting a proper name than in so denoting any other word; and therefore I agree with the persons above alluded to in admitting the possibility of the Egyptians having employed characters with powers such as that here attributed to the portrait of the solar god. But however possible it may be that they, in their first use of phonetic signs, so employed them; the fact has not yet in any single instance been established by satisfactory proof; and the extravagant absurdities into which the assumption of it has led M. Champollion and his imitators in their attempts to decipher names,^a show very clearly that the hypothesis should not be admitted, except with caution, and a due verification of it for each particular case. Now, in the instance of the group under consideration, there has not been advanced any thing more than mere

^a See in pages 249-250 of the *Précis* M. Champollion's method of extracting the name *Psammus* out of a group in his Plate XIV. No. 2; from which he first gets the sentence or motto, *Ammon in force*; thence, without offering even the slightest semblance of a proof that the characters are phonetically used, he derives the mixed phonetic combination, *Amen-hem-Djom*; thence, by introducing the sound of the article where it is not written, *Amen-hem-Pdjom*; and this he considers to be evidently identical with the alphabetic name *Psammus*. This example must be a favourite one with his followers, for it appears to have been frequently copied by them: indeed it holds out very seducing temptations to a decipherer, as the imitation of it affords him doubly the means of appropriating whatever verbal name he may have occasion for, to any assigned hieroglyphic group; 1. by making the separate characters denote such Coptic terms as may answer his purpose in the composition of the required word; 2. by identifying combinations of sounds which have scarcely any resemblance.

conjecture in favour of the deciphering of it which has been given: and with respect to the initial character, not only is there on the one side a want of direct external evidence of its being employed with a mixed phonetic power; but it might be added, that such evidence, bearing in the opposite direction, exists upon the other side; which, however, this is not the place for discussing, but, as soon as occasion offers, it shall be produced in proof of the figure having here attached to it quite a different power, and one that is purely phonetic.

The peculiarity which really exempts this group from the general description is, that it can be brought home to the designation of a single individual, and precisely limited to one external standard, with the elements of which its component parts can be shown phonetically to agree; as I hope to be able to prove in another place. Here, however, I shall deal with the legend according to the received opinion, that it denoted a name which, with certain variations, was borne in succession by a great number of Egyptian sovereigns. Even according to this opinion the writing employed may be phonetic, because it is possible that one of the latest of the synonymous kings adopted the group before us to express his name, in place of some older one used by his predecessors; and all the discordant versions of the word might be owing to the ideagraphic nature of that older group. In fact considerable variations are ascribed to this word, but as they have not been proved to be readings of the same legend, their discrepancies do not at all make against that legend being phonetic. The nearest approach to the name made by Herodotus, is *Rhampsinitus*; and by Diodorus Siculus, *Remphis*; while we have Manetho, in reference to it, disagreeing not only with the Greek historians, but also with himself. In his catalogue are written *Amosis*, *Armais*, *Armesses*, *Ramesses*, *Ramesis*, to which may be added *Rampses*; and that he confounded at least three of the terms of this series, or made them variations of a common denomination, can be clearly shown from the passages in his history which have been transmitted to us by Josephus. In the one from which Dr. Young principally

took the catalogue of the 18th dynasty—contained in sect. 15 of first book against Apion—*Armesses* Miammon is the grandfather, and Amenophis the father of Sethosis: but in that given in sect. 26 of same book, Amenophis is said to have committed, on a certain occasion, to the care of a friend, his son Sethos, a child five years old, who was also called *Ramesses*, after *Rampses*, the father of Amenophis. “Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθων, τὸν καὶ Ραμέσσην ἀπὸ Ράμψεως τοῦ πατρὸς ὠνομασμένον, πενταέτη ὄντα, ἐξέθετο πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.” Thus he calls the grandfather in one place *Armesses*, and in the other *Rampses*; and in the latter place he confessedly makes *Ramesses* a variation of the same name. The discrepancy between the terms employed by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus was most probably occasioned by the imperfection of the ideagraphic method of designation; but the variations which have been aduced from Manetho’s catalogue there is strong reason for attributing to a different cause, not very creditable to the Egyptian priest, which shall be explained when I come to investigate the true reading of the group under consideration.

As half of the hieroglyphs here combined are not found in the later phonetic system of the Egyptians, and as one of them, in the assumed nature of its power, is essentially different from those employed in the expression of Greek and Roman names; it is evident that, in our efforts to decipher the group, we are entering on new ground, and ought to proceed in the same way as that by which Young was led to his original discovery in this subject. No secure progress therefore can be made in the investigation till, by means independent of the characters in the cartouche, the exact combination of sounds represented by them be first ascertained. This has not been accomplished by M. Champollion, and consequently his making out from the group the name REMaSiS or RAMaSiS by mere inspection of the writing itself, without the support of any external evidence, is pressed with all the difficulties and uncertainties which have been detailed under the third head of the preliminary description. Yet he looked upon such proof as absolute demonstration,

and proceeded to determine the individual to whom the discovered name belonged, not at all in confirmation of the deciphering he had made, but in order to arrive at still further information, deduced from a point which had already been so completely established. “Puisque la lecture de ce nom royal est bien fixée, il reste à savoir quel est celui des monarques égyptiens mentionnés par les historiens grecs, auquel il a pu appartenir.”—p. 271.

Let us now see how he endeavours to appropriate this cartouche to the designation of Sesostris. Having, upon the above-stated insufficient ground, first assumed that the group denoted *Ramesses*, and having then produced the passage I lately quoted from Josephus, by which he proves that the *Sethos* of Manetho, confounded by him with the *Sesostri*s of Herodotus, was called *Ramesses*; he subjoins an observation which completely overturns the inference he wanted to draw from these premises, by informing us that there were several of the Egyptian sovereigns who bore the name. “Il paraît au reste que ce nom de *Ramsis*, *Rampses*, ou *Rameses*, fut très-usité en Egypte: nous verrons en effet ailleurs, que cinq Pharaons le prirent successivement.”—p. 276. And he dwells upon this observation, evidently not perceiving the bearing it had upon his conclusion. “Le canon de Manethon mentionne plusieurs prédécesseurs ou successeurs de ce grand conquérant, qui portèrent aussi le nom de *Ramsès* ou *Ramésès*.”—p. 277. Really, when the ingenuity of this writer is considered, it is astonishing how exceedingly deficient he was in reasoning power, even in that grade of it which is requisite to perceiving the force of an inference. Another argument of his, mixed up with this one, is equally inconclusive, but it is diffused over too great a surface to be here quoted; and I shall therefore confine myself to giving its substance, which is as follows: “This legend is found on great numbers of monuments (*Précis*, p. 271), showing that the personage represented by it was a powerful prince; and it is connected with *bas-reliefs* exhibiting sieges, combats, military marches, passages of rivers, &c. &c., which farther

shows that he was a great conqueror (p. 272). But Sesostriis was also a powerful prince and great conqueror. Therefore this must have been the legend of Sesostriis." Just as if there could not have been, out of all the sovereigns to whom the legend might be phonetically applicable, any other one likewise a powerful prince, who by staying principally at home may have had more leisure and opportunities for erecting great buildings than Sesostriis, and also may, upon very slight grounds, have had the vanity of representing himself on those buildings as a mighty conqueror. It is evidently possible that there may have been such a person in the list, and the bare possibility of this is sufficient to render the above reasoning utterly invalid.

The second argument however is not merely inconclusive in favour of M. Champollion's views: it positively bears against them. Among the monuments on which he mentions that the legend in question is inscribed, is the *Flaminian* obelisk (*Précis*, p. 271); which is known by the testimony of Pliny to have been erected about the age in which Pythagoras lived, therefore after the time of Psammetichus, and considerably after that of Sesostriis. It is also to be observed, that the evidence of Pliny is corroborated by the appearance of the prenom of this legend (which is, at least, as old as the nom cartouche); for if it be compared with that of Psammetichus and those of the Ptolemies, it will be found to approach much nearer to the latter than the former in the style of writing, with respect to both the number and the kind of characters employed. The number of the characters is more than double that used in the older style, and three of them are the same, and grouped in the same manner as ones which may be seen in each of the two prenom already given of Ptolemy Epiphanes. Thus not only has M. Champollion failed to bring home this legend to Sesostriis, but actually there is a combination of external and internal evidence to prove it belonged to some king of a much later period: so that from its being admitted that the nom cartouche is phonetically written, no argument whatever can be derived for an extreme antiquity of such writing in Egypt. Who precisely was

the sovereign hereby represented, is a question of some interest, as the determination of it would fix the date of the Table of Abydos, on which his legend is the latest inscribed; and it would also indicate, with a very high degree of probability, in what reign phonetic writing was first used by the Egyptians, for all the preceding cartouches of the table are ideagraphic. But I must defer the investigation of this point till after the present discussion.

The peculiarity of the second legend which I have proposed to the reader's consideration, is, that it is known what individual the prenom was intended to represent, and also known that the designation was very old. This prenom (with respect to which both Young and Champollion agree, but no notice is taken of the nom cartouche, except by the latter), is the hieroglyphic title on a very remarkable colossal statue at Thebes, celebrated by the ancients for its singing powers, which is proved by a number of Greek inscriptions on it to have been that of the person whom alphabetic writers distinguished by the appellation of *Memnon*; and the great variety of ways in which this word is written, shows that the exact combination of articulate sounds was lost, before it could be fixed by the Greeks, and consequently that the name must have been already old, when their mode of writing was first practised in Egypt. The style of writing in the prenom is accordant with the supposition of its being a very ancient one; there are only three characters in it, without any modifying or connecting signs. They may, I apprehend, be interpreted as follows. The first denotes splendour; the second, divinity; the third is found on the Rosetta stone, with another placed treble under it, which is on that stone separately translated ἀγαθόν, while the entire combination is there rendered εὐχάριστος; the repetition of the subjacent sign denoting the plural number, as also the intensity expressed by the commencement of the latter Greek term. The compound character therefore may be construed, master of many good qualities, or giver of many good things; and consequently the upper part of it, which is all we have here to do with, is

limited by the Rosetta inscription to the expression of either power or generosity: while there are passages of other inscriptions which confine it to the first of these significations. For instance, with the addition of two horizontal very oblong rectangles, it takes the place of the bee and sceptre before the prenom in the legends of some of the Roman emperors. M. Champollion has given nearly the same meaning of this final character of the cartouche before us; but one of the passages by which he arrived at it is far more obscure than what he wanted thereby to clear up; as the parts of the obeliscal inscription to which the fragment of Hermapio exactly applies, have not yet been ascertained.^a His words are as follows: "Ce grand seg-

^a This Greek fragment has been transmitted to us by Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth chapter of his 17th book, where it is also stated by him that the obelisk, to which the whole translation referred, was that removed from Thebes by the second Constantine, and erected in the Circus Maximus by his son Constantius; and Zoëga, in his treatise *De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, p. 66, informs us that this is the very one which is now placed in front of the Lateran church. But although the inscription for which the interpretation was intended, appears to be thus identified, still the parts of it which correspond to the Greek fragment have not yet been ascertained; nor probably shall they, as long as the investigation is conducted on the supposition of the hieroglyphic text being phonetic. The translation itself presents no clew here by mentioning the south and east faces of the obelisk; because, since it was written, the situation of the monument has been changed. But it is evident that, until the correspondent parts of the original and translation are fixed, the Greek of Hermapio will not enable us to determine the meaning of a single hieroglyphic character. M. Champollion, in his observations on the subject, from page 199 to 205, gives some reason to think that it is to the upper part of the monument that the Greek applies; however he does not attempt to determine the two sides to which it is confined, or even to bring it home to any one obelisk, but refers to no less than three or four of them for its illustration. As to the authority to which Hermapio is entitled, his transcriber does not appear to have thought very highly of it; for the smallness of the extract now extant is not occasioned by the injuries of time, which have deprived us of part of the historic work of Ammianus Marcellinus, but is to be attributed to the intention of this author himself to give merely a fragment of the translation, as is evident from his ending the Greek quotation with the words *et reliqua*: and his neglecting to transcribe the whole, cannot be accounted for by the supposition of his holding in contempt a sub-

ment de sphère qui paraît figurer une espèce de coupe, employé très-fréquemment dans les légendes des rois et des dieux, y exprime toujours une idée de *possession* et de *suprematie*; c'est ce même signe qui a été rendu par le mot grec *δεσποτης*, *seigneur*, dans la traduction d'un obélisque par Hermapion."—p. 284. With respect to the figure of divinity, he arbitrarily assumed that it was that of the goddess of truth; and having just as arbitrarily inverted it and the last one, he made out of the whole group the absurd motto, "Soleil seigneur de Vérité."—p. 285. Analogy, on the other hand, appropriates to this prenom a very different signification, and proves that it denoted immediately *splendour*, *divinity*, and *power*; and mediately the spoken name of the personage who was supposed to be distinguished by these characteristic attributes.

If we now turn from the prenom to the nom cartouche we shall find, even on the mere inspection of it, some reason to think it ideagraphic; for there are but two characters in it legitimately proved to be ever phonetically used, the feather and wavy line; while four of them can be shown to be at times ideagraphically employed. This has been already proved with respect to the two just mentioned, and is admitted very inconsistently by M. Champollion as to the feather, which placed in the hand of the solar god in No. 3. *a.* of the 16th plate of

ject connected with the praises of the gods, since he was a Pagan. Indeed, as far as can be judged from the writings of the fourth century, which have reached us, the knowledge of hieroglyphs had even in that age already begun to decline. And in the part of Hermapio's interpretation which has been preserved, some evidence of inaccuracy is supplied by his writing the Egyptian king's name *Ραμεστης*. For, supposing that he had before him one of the several variations of the group by which this name is phonetically expressed; if there be any thing in the whole system known to a certainty, it is that there should be no T near the end of the alphabetic word; as the powers of the two final characters are completely fixed by their constant use in the designation of Greek and Roman sovereigns. However, notwithstanding these deductions from the value of the fragment, it still would be a document of great interest if its hieroglyphic original could be accurately fixed.

Précis, he arbitrarily makes the emblem of truth : but whatever its signification in that portrait may be, it is evident that it is there emblematic. The same is also proved of the first and last characters of the group by their appearing in cartouches that are confessedly ideagraphic ; one of them in the prenom of No. 26, and the other in No. 29 (or 115 of the plates of the *Précis*), which is a variation of that of the king supposed to have been called Ramasis. I admit that the circumstance which I have now described affords no decisive reason for the group being ideagraphic ; but then, on the other side, it shows how little ground there is for maintaining that it is phonetic, and how unwarrantable it is to derive the word *Amenoph* from the combination, since there are in it but two characters which have ever been ascertained to be phonetically used, giving no more than the syllable *en* out of the entire word.

But although the mere appearance of the nom cartouche cannot decide the question whether it be ideagraphic or phonetic ; yet it is sufficient to indicate a style of writing of much later date than that in the prenom. There are six characters in it instead of three ; and one of them, the wavy line, was used as a connecting sign, even to the very last stage of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt. Besides this cartouche may be seen in the legend No. 31 (or 109 of the book of plates of the *Précis*) ; where the prenom—which must be at least as old—is decidedly of a modern style, as there are in it modifying signs, exhibiting in its bottom character an expression of the plural number. Hence it is probable, that in the legend before us the nom cartouche was added long after the prenom had been written ; and this would be quite certain, if, upon any of the monuments mentioned by Young, the prenom should be found, as it is represented by him, alone. But one cannot be confident of this upon his mere statement, since he was in the habit of referring to different persons the two cartouches of the same legend, from mistaking the meaning of the signs immediately preceding the second, as has been already explained. However it is very possible that his representation of the matter may here be right ;

and if it be so with respect to any one of the statues mentioned by him, we should arrive at certainty on a point of some interest. For if the fact were established that this individual's name was originally expressed by means of the prenom alone, it might be strictly inferred that such was in like manner the early mode of designation in the case of every other sovereign of great antiquity. At all events, even without the complete confirmation of the point in the instance under consideration, there is some probability in favour of the particular proposition, which analogy will extend to the more general one; and this probability is considerably strengthened by the Table of Abydos and the Rosetta inscription; in the former of which records there appear only prenoms, except for the very last name; and in the latter, though the fullest and most formal document that has come down to our times, the royal designation, in every place where it occurs, is enclosed in a single cartouche. It is most likely therefore that the names of the Egyptian sovereigns were at first represented only by the prenoms, and that the nom cartouches were not added till after a considerable improvement had taken place in hieroglyphic writing. But, as the second cartouche was intended for a more perfect designation of the name, of course when a still superior mode of expressing it by means of phonetic signs was introduced, the new characters naturally occupied that cartouche. Thus on the first adoption of phonetic designations both cartouches expressed, though in different ways, the very same name. But when we come down to the age of the Ptolemies we find the prenom, still ideagraphically characteristic, representing no longer the principal name but a surname: and from the moment this change of its use occurs, the old ideagraphic expression of the proper name is transferred into the bottom of the nom cartouche beneath the phonetic group; as I shall have an opportunity of more particularly showing, when I come to the consideration of the Rosetta inscription.

The reader will now see why I have assented to the title of prenom given by M. Champollion to one of the cartouches; and

that I have done so, because for ages it contained the proper name written in the previous or older style; and not at all for his reason of its expressing a surname, to which use it was peculiarly appropriated only for a comparatively short interval, viz. between the commencement of the Greek dynasty and the time when it ceased to be ideagraphic. Afterwards when phonetic writing spread through both cartouches, name or surname was indifferently placed in either of them. The only distinction in their use, which appears to have been then preserved, was that, whenever the proper name, written in the old ideagraphic style, or a fragment of such name, was retained, it was always in the *nom* cartouche that it was placed.

To return however to the particular legend which has given occasion for the foregoing observations, whether they be justly applicable to it or not, is quite immaterial in reference to the argument of M. Champollion; for even if they were decidedly wrong, no advantage would thence accrue to the validity of that argument. If the two cartouches be not coeval, it is impossible to determine how late the second may have been added; and consequently, from the assumption of its being phonetic, no inference could be drawn in favour of the great antiquity of such writing. But suppose, on the other hand, that, notwithstanding the difference of style marking a difference of age, they are coeval—suppose that the *nom* cartouche is as ancient as the *pre-nom*—then an external proof of its being ideagraphic comes to bear upon the subject with an irresistible force. The *nom* cartouche being now taken for part of the legend which has been so variously and discordantly translated by alphabetic writers, it is impossible that it could, upon such supposition, be a phonetic designation. It cannot be here said, as in the case of the group rendered Ramases, that because there was a succession of several kings recorded to have borne the name, the discrepancy in the versions of it might possibly be owing to the ideagraphic nature of an older legend, while the one now extant commenced with a sovereign near the end of the series, and was phonetic. Although in the present instance several are also stated to

have been successively called by the common denomination; yet there is no room for a like possibility here, because in this case the discrepancies are brought home to the identical legend before us, and, on the supposition of its parts being coeval, are equally attributable to the nom as to the prenom cartouche. In no way therefore can this legend be made to prove a great antiquity of phonetic writing among the Egyptians: in all probability one part of it is of much more recent date than the other; but if both parts were in existence when the various Greek readings of it were formed, then both must have been ideographic. A brief enumeration of some of the principal discrepancies will show to what an extent they were carried in this case. Manetho recorded of *Amenophis*, eighth king of his 18th dynasty,^a that he was the *Memnon* of the Greeks; but he also inserted in his catalogue *Ammenoph*, *Amenophthis*, and *Ammenepthes*, which evidently are only different modifications of the same word. Dr. Young informs us that in one of the very numerous Greek inscriptions on the colossal statue at Thebes already alluded to, the name is written *Phamenoth*; while M. Champollion gives another of them in which it is rendered *Phamenoph*; and if we had all those inscriptions we should probably find among them several more variations of the word. Dr. Young argues ingeniously to prove that Memnon is a corruption of *Miamun*; Pausanias identifies it with *Phamenoph*;^b Strabo with *Ismandes*;^c and instead of Ismandes, Diodorus Siculus has *Osymandyas*. In fact there is nothing common to the different readings of this hieroglyphic legend except the letters M and N.

^a His note upon this name, as transmitted to us by Eusebius, is as follows: "οὗτος ὁ Μέμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος;" which shows that even before the time of Manetho, the name of Memnon had been connected with the colossal statue here called by him the "vocal stone."

^b Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἦν.—PAUSANIAS, lib. i. cap. 42.

^c Εἰ δὲ, ὡς φασὶν, ὁ Μέμνων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων Ἰσμάνδης λέγεται.—STRABO, lib. xvii. page 1167; Amsterdam edition of 1707.

The prenoms of the legends which have been brought into this discussion, are closely connected with the Table of Abydos, and consequently a consideration of both subjects together will serve to throw some light upon each. The prenom which gave occasion to the various and conflicting readings detailed in the last paragraph has been already examined, and may be seen in column 6 of the second row of the Table, as also two nearly resembling it in columns 2 and 3 of same row. Indeed a resemblance, and consequently a correspondence in the primary signification, may be observed to run through numbers of the cartouches of this Table. The document shows us still more; for it goes far towards establishing a principle of the truth of which we have already had an instance in the designation of Osiris, viz. that ideagraphic groups which are not identical, but only correspondent in their immediate expression, may yet ultimately denote the same verbal name. In phonetic representations, the varying a group, which was often done, was not attended with any inconvenience; because the new characters being ascertained to be homophonous to those for which they were substituted, there could not be any doubt about the identity of the word expressed. But on the contrary, very great confusion must have arisen from this practice in the employment of ideagraphic signs. For where there is the slightest change in the combination of such signs, the spoken name ultimately denoted may be quite a different one from what it was before; and it is only by collateral evidence, independent of the writing itself, that two equivalent ideagraphic groups can be known to represent the same individual. Now the lowest row of the Table affords very completely such evidence; for the phonetic groups therein being all the same, or equivalent, the legends to which they belong must all be referred to one and the same person. We have here therefore an opportunity of verifying the principle in question; not indeed by means of the prenoms, which are throughout the row identical, but by the upper groups in the nom cartouches, which are different; and three of these correspondent groups being confessedly ideagra-

phic, they probably are all of them such. But suppose they are not, and then the principle is still more strongly established; for if the ideagraphic combinations be synonymous with phonetic ones, of course, *a fortiori*, they can be so with such as, though differing in some respect from them, are still of their own kind. I shall presently have an opportunity of adducing an instance in direct confirmation of this point.

The prenoms of the legends marked 26 and 31 have an obvious resemblance, being identical in their top and bottom characters; the middle ones therefore are probably intended for a crown and sceptre, not only from their appearance, but also from the correspondence which holds between the two groups. And this probability is strengthened by comparing the cartouches of the second row of the Table in columns 2, 3, 6, whereby the figure which I have supposed to be a crown, will be found to correspond on the one side with a better known form of the sceptre, and on the other, with a character that has been already proved to express dominion or power. Hence it may be inferred, with a high degree of probability, that the two prenoms had some such immediate meaning as *Splendour and dominion over worlds*. But they did not ultimately denote the same spoken name, as is evident from the very marked difference in the nom cartouches; which were possibly added to prevent the older denominations being confounded: while on the other hand, there was no danger of mistake from employing the same nom cartouche in legends 30 and 31, because the prenoms connected with it sufficiently indicated that the names expressed were different. M. Champollion translated the first of these prenoms, *Soleil stabiliteur des mondes*, and the second one, *Le grand soleil des mondes*; but it has been already shown that such denominations were intended to signify, not at all mottos respecting the sun, but collections of qualities attributed to the sovereigns with whose spoken names they were ultimately associated. The sceptre with the dog's head in prenom of legend 28, he, on the authority of Horus Apollo, took for an emblem of vigilance, which, as a characteristic attribute of the

animal, this figure may naturally represent; and he translated the whole group, *Soleil gardien de la Vérité, approuvé par Phré*. Of this version it has been justly observed by M. Klaproth, that to speak of the sun being approved of by the sun, is nonsense; but such objection does not hold against the same meaning of the bottom group in the translation to which analogy conducts us, viz. *splendour, vigilance, divinity, and approbation of the solar god*; however it is very uncertain what that bottom group denotes. The prenom marked 29, which corresponds with this one, was translated by M. Champollion, *Soleil modérateur de Vérité, approuvé par Ammon*. The first three characters express *splendour, dominion, divinity*, and the remaining group is equally obscure as in its counterpart. These two prenoms were certainly referred to the same spoken name, for in the legends in which they appear they are connected with nom cartouches containing equivalent phonetic groups. Here then is an instance which very decisively proves that the Egyptians sometimes employed as synonymes, ideagraphic combinations, which are not identical, but only have some correspondence in their immediate significations: while on the other hand, two might have a far closer correspondence approaching nearly to identity, and yet have been applied by them to the designation of entirely different names, as has been shown from a comparison of the legends 26 and 31.

With respect to the legend which is repeated throughout the entire of the lowest row of the Table, whether the upper group of its nom cartouche in columns 1, 9, 11, 15, 19, be ideagraphic or phonetic, it may perhaps be thought superfluous to inquire, after the discussion of the point in so many instances of the same kind. However I shall now for the last time consider the question, and state why it appears to me quite improbable that this group is phonetic. Two reasons have been already given which bear against M. Champollion's translation of it into *Amnon-mai*. It is contrary to the analogy of the old Egyptian language, as far as can now be ascertained, that the subordinate part of a compound word should be placed at its termination;

and if, to avoid this, the parts in reading be transposed, then it is contrary to the analogy of Egyptian writing, as shown in the designation of Greek and Roman names, to have an inversion made between two characters not immediately next to each other. Besides there is not any legitimate proof of the top character here being ever used with the phonetic power of M: it is not found in the later system of the Egyptians, and the only reason for attributing to it this power appears to be, that one of the gods in the corresponding groups of columns 7, 13, 17, is supposed to be Ammon. But even granting that the god is rightly named, the inference thence drawn would not follow, unless it were first proved that the group under consideration was phonetic. However let the assumed nature of character and group be admitted for the moment, and let us see how the name Ammon is in consequence made out. For this purpose the feather is forced not only out of its place after the crown, but also out of its usual power of a short *e* or *i*, and is taken to denote the vowel *a* with which the word commences. But wherever the character appears to have this power the vowel is found in the close state, drawing after it the following consonant to complete the syllable. Now it is absolutely impossible that the Egyptians could, on their first acquaintance with phonetic characters, employ any of them in this manner. I do not deny that they may have had signs for vowels as early as for consonants: this is quite in accordance with the supposition of their having not invented their system, but derived it from observation of a foreign practice. But then they must have used one class of signs just in the same way as the other, so as that each sign should by itself denote a distinct sound; they could not combine two out of the different classes in the expression of one syllable; because for this purpose they should have some idea of a consonantal power, which, as has been fully demonstrated, it was impossible for them to have had in the first instance. But indeed it is quite unwarrantable here doubly to distort the feather from its usual phonetic construction; all that can be fairly made out of the group, on the admissions that have been momen-

tarily conceded, is not the word *Ammon*, but merely the syllable *Men* or *Min*; and even against this reading the above-stated objection holds with equal force: the writer could not by any possibility have made the consonantal use of characters herein exhibited, till a very advanced stage of his phonetic system. Withdrawing then concessions which have only led to absurdity, let us try whether the group in question can be ideographically explained, so as to tally with those with which it is known to correspond in signification. Now the crown and feather may surely have denoted one god just as naturally as the harrow and feather did another, the last mentioned hieroglyph appearing by its length to extend to both emblems, and the wavy line serving to connect them. And thus a much closer correspondence is made out between the two sets of characters, than if they totally differed in the kind of powers with which they were employed.

From the appearance of the Table of Abydos, on which the last name is the only one exhibiting signs employed with phonetic powers, I conceive it may be clearly inferred that, at the time of writing that name, the Egyptians were but just commencing to make use of such signs. For if they had previously arrived at so superior a mode of designation, they surely would have availed themselves of it in writing the preceding names. This supposition is warranted not only by what might naturally be expected from them as rational beings, but also by what is actually known of their subsequent conduct. For, as far as can be ascertained, they always afterwards made use, in some measure at least, of the improved mode of expressing names; and no instance has been found of a royal legend entirely ideographic, whose date can be proved posterior to that of the document before us. There can scarcely be a doubt then, but that the lowest row of the Table points out the very reign in which a phonetic system was first adopted in Egypt; and there is a very curious circumstance observable in the nom cartouches throughout the row, which is fully in accordance with this conclusion. The figure of the solar god is actually herein used with a double

power: in column 17 it is obviously employed ideagraphically as the portrait of the god, to express his favour and protection of the king; which is here its immediate signification. But the phonetic group below is defective without it, and consequently an ulterior use must be given it to express the initial sound of the royal name, whatever that sound may have been. Whereas in every other column containing the nom cartouche this character is at the commencement of the bottom group, and so its immediate use is the phonetic one; while at the same time its ideagraphic signification cannot be omitted; for it is the one legend that runs all through the row, and in the designation of the same individual the protection of the same tutelary gods must have been expressed. Now when the Egyptians began to write phonetically, it was quite natural that they should employ, in this new method of expressing names, the same leading characters, as far as the sounds ideagraphically associated with them admitted, which they had previously been in the habit of applying to such purpose in the older method; and that they should be thereby directed in their first choice of phonetic signs. Accordingly we here find a character at the commencement of a phonetic name which is also employed in the ideagraphic designation of the same personage. I do not say that this circumstance alone proves the group in the bottom of the nom cartouche to be a specimen of the first phonetic writing of the Egyptians; but it tells strongly in corroboration of the proof which I have previously adduced on the subject. The rectangular figure does not appear in column 17, but as it is in every other nom cartouche of the row, it was evidently omitted in this one through accident from an oversight of the insculptor: in columns 7 and 13 it looks like a pedestal, but this is not what it signified: the Egyptian did not think his gods required a support to rest on, for he has generally drawn them without any. In the nom cartouche marked 32, which I have copied from No. 12 of Plate XVI. of the *Précis*, there is to be seen in place of this figure its equivalent, the emblematic plough.

I now proceed to examine M. Champollion's leading tenet respecting the complete accuracy of Manetho's canon. The first circumstance here to be noticed is the great difference between these two writers as to the place of Sesostris; whom the Egyptian makes the third king of his 12th dynasty, giving a fuller account of him than of most of the other sovereigns, and stating that in nine years he conquered all Asia and part of Europe as far as Thrace, every where erecting monuments of his conquest of the nations,^a with some other particulars not necessary to be mentioned. M. Champollion, on the other hand, places this conqueror at the head of the 19th dynasty, later by near seven dynasties, and above fifteen hundred years; which certainly is a very strange mode of establishing the perfect truth of the Egyptian record. But even if this difficulty could be got over, others of an insuperable nature remain behind to be yet considered. Some authors had endeavoured to reconcile the canon of Manetho with the Mosaic chronology, by supposing that the kings of the different dynasties, therein enumerated, did not reign successively, but many of them at the same time in different parts of Egypt. But M. Champollion is very careful to guard us from such a mistake, which he pronounces to be a gross absurdity. "*Les inscriptions sacrées des monumens de l'Egypte offrent une concordance frappante et dans les noms et dans la succession ou la filiation des rois, avec ce que présente la série des dynasties égyptiennes donnée par Manéthon, série réduite à ses véritables valeurs chronologiques, sans qu'il soit besoin pour cela de recourir au système absurde des dynasties collatérales, si ce n'est en un seul point de cette longue succession——.*" p. 294. There is no possible way then of removing the extreme variance between the Jewish and Egyptian historians, and yet the account transmitted to us by the latter one is ascertained by M. Champollion to be perfectly true. He

^a "Σέσωστρις ἔτη μὴ. ὃς ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα, καὶ τῆς Ἑυρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θράκης, πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατασχέσεως."—SYNCELLUS, p. 59.

is too delicate however expressly to draw any inference from these premises, but lest we might possibly be startled by that which obviously follows from them, he assures us that the canon under consideration "— est bien loin d'accorder à la monarchie égyptienne cette durée excessive qui effrayait l'imagination et semblait appeler de doute sur la totalité même des assertions de son auteur."—p. 294. Undoubtedly in the extraordinary antiquity of the Egyptian kingdom, which is thus established, and which he allowed to be reduced only in what he calls a single point,^a there is nothing in the least alarming to any one—who is perfectly indifferent as to the historic truth of the Bible, or who may secretly wish that this venerable record should turn out to be untrue.

Let us however inquire how M. Champollion verified the canon by means of the Table of Abydos, his great instrument for the purpose; and what grounds he had for asserting that there was a striking concordance, in the names of the kings, and the order of their succession, between Manetho's account and this document. He at first imagined that all the cartouches of the Table were phonetically written, and attempted to fix, according to this hypothesis, the names denoted by them: upon which attempt Dr. Young (in a short publication of his in 1823, entitled, "Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature"),^b ob-

^a The extent of this reduction he explains a little farther on, as follows: "La XVII.^e dynastie des Pharaons fut contemporaine de celle des Pasteurs."—*Note in page 296.*

^b I was greatly struck by a passage in this little work, from which it appears that M. Champollion was in the habit of consulting Dr. Young on difficult points, and of receiving information from him. After this it is certainly very strange how he could have brought himself to speak in his publications so disparagingly of the Doctor's discoveries. The passage to which I allude runs thus: "—— I am even inclined to hope, from M. Champollion's latest communications, that he will find some means of overcoming the difficulties that I have stated respecting the Pharaohs; for he assures me that he has identified the names of no less than thirty of them, and that they accord with the traditions of Manetho, and, as far as he can judge, with the notes I had sent him."—p. 53.

served that “—— Unfortunately the fundamental supposition appears to be liable to an insurmountable objection; that the circle which M. Champollion considers as equivalent to the RE or RA of Rameses, is also the first character of each of the seventeen names immediately preceding it, and indeed of every other in the catalogue, that remains unmutilated at the beginning. I am therefore sorry to say that I cannot hitherto congratulate M. Champollion on the success of his attempts to carry his system of phonetic characters into the very remotest antiquity of Egypt.”—pp. 52-53. This observation does not bear against M. Champollion’s deciphering of the last cartouche of the row in the column here marked No, 1, because the writing in that cartouche is plainly different from that in all the rest of same row, and the figure of the sun enters it in a different manner, only as a partial, not as a complete hieroglyph; but it afforded a very decisive argument against the other seventeen being phonetically written. Here then was a fatal blow against M. Champollion’s first effort to establish the truth of Manetho’s catalogue: he could no longer maintain that the groups in the two upper rows of the Table were phonetic, without making all the names represented by them begin with the same syllable. He in consequence thenceforward set them down as ideagraphic, and as only mere prenoms, yet without giving in the *Précis* the slightest hint of his former opinion: “La troisième et dernière série ne renferme que la légende royale entière de *Ramsès le Grand*, composée de deux cartouches (le nom et le prenom), tandis que les deux séries supérieures ne renferment qu’une suite de cartouches *prénoms*, sauf le dernier de la seconde série, qui est un cartouche *nom propre*.”—p. 295.

This was a sad reduction of the use which M. Champollion had originally expected to derive from the Table in pursuit of his object; for it appears from the explanations which he has given of some of the prenoms, that he did not look upon the older ones as expressing even surnames, but only a sort of mottos, which of course could not afford any immediate or direct proof of the correctness of Manetho’s report, either as to the

exact names of the Egyptian sovereigns, or the order in which those names should be placed. But the end in view was too interesting and too worthy a one to be readily given up; it was therefore necessary to remedy, some how or other, the deterioration of the evidence; and this he attempted to effect by as curious an expedient as can well be conceived; by assuring us that he was so perfectly acquainted with these coats of arms (if I may so call them), and with the mottos they expressed—that in short he was such an adept in Egyptian heraldry, as to be able, with perfect ease to himself, to recover the *nom cartouche*, and consequently the *nom propre*, of every sovereign in the Table, by means of his *prenom*. Let us hear the very modest assurance in his own words: “*La seconde série contient vingt-un prénoms royaux; et il m’a été facile, en étudiant les dessins de la commission d’Egypte, et sur-tout ceux que M. Huyot a faits, avec un soin si particulier, des légendes royales sculptées sur les monumens de l’Egypte et de la Nubie, de retrouver les cartouches noms propres qui accompagnent toujours les cartouches prénoms du tableau d’Abydos.*”—p. 295. This is too good not to give a little more of it, but I shall take the liberty of occasionally interrupting my author just to make a remark or two. In the first place then, it must strike one as somewhat strange that he should speak of twenty-one *prénoms* in the second row of the Table, exclusive of the *nom propre* in column 1; when there are but eighteen cartouches altogether in that row in the plan of the Table which he had before him, viz. that which was drawn by M. Caillaud.^a But the reader of the *Précis* has

^a The plan of the Table of Abydos annexed to this publication has been copied from one in the *Examen Critique* of M. Klaproth, which he states to have been formed from a comparison of the drawings of MM. Bankes and Wilkinson; and he further states that these drawings closely agree in almost every respect, thereby proving their mutual accuracy. He has also there given a copy of the plan of M. Caillaud, *as published by M. Champollion*; which has just the same number (18) of cartouches in the middle row as the above-mentioned verified one, but differs from it considerably in the other two rows. As M. Caillaud visited Abydos the latest of the three travellers,

not an immediate opportunity of perceiving this inaccuracy, as no plate of the Table is therein inserted, nor indeed even a list of the sovereigns of the 18th dynasty, although it was by a comparison of those two documents that, it seems, the perfect truth of Manetho was to be established; but references are merely given in notes to pages 295, 296, for the former document, to another publication of our author; and for the latter, to Josephus. In the second place, with respect to the principal assertion of the extract, as far as I have as yet proceeded in it, M. Champollion has certainly given in the *Précis* three legends (marked 26, 30, 31), the prenoms of two of which are found exactly in columns 6 and 8, and that of the third very nearly in column 7^a of the Table. Consequently he may be allowed to have made out three of the nom cartouches for which he was searching; or rather two of them, for the legends 30 and 31 supply only one. But if he discovered them all, it appears rather odd that he should have produced so very few of the number: still, as we have his word for the fact, no one surely could be so unreasonably suspicious as to have any doubt about it. However his demand upon our belief does not end yet, as the next part of the passage will show. “Ce tableau précieux étant ainsi complété par la connaissance des noms propres royaux, j’ai pu, par la lecture de ces cartouches noms propres, au moyen de mon alphabet hiéroglyphique, me convaincre *bientôt pleinement* que les treize derniers cartouches, en remontant la seconde série de ce

the alteration in the top row of his plan may be accounted for by the rapid decay of the record after its exposure to the air. But that of the bottom row, in which all the nom cartouches are made exactly the same, must have been the effect of design, which can hardly be attributed to the traveller, as he had no idea whatever of the signification of the characters at the time of making his drawing. If the reader have any doubt as to who the culprit was, or wish to inquire more particularly into the subject, he will find materials to enable him to form a tolerably good guess in the observations on the monument of Abydos at the end of M. Klaproth’s *Examen Critique*.

^a It is exactly the same as that in column 7 of Mr. Wilkinson’s delineation, in which the crown is inserted over the beetle, according to M. Klaproth’s report.—*Examen Critique*, p. 165.

tableau, sont les prénoms mêmes des souverains de la XVIII.^e dynastie, rangés généalogiquement; les cinq cartouches prénoms qui précèdent le dernier de ces treize, toujours en remontant dans la seconde série, sont ceux des rois de la XVII.^e dynastie, dite *Diospolitaine*, composée aussi de cinq rois, et qui occupa le trône de Thèbes immédiatement avant la XVIII.^e Les dix-sept cartouches prénoms qui précèdent ceux-ci, dans la seconde et la première série du tableau d'Abydos, et qui sont plus ou moins frustes, la muraille sur laquelle ils sont sculptés étant ruinée en partie, se rapportent à des temps encore plus reculés; mais nous devons ajouter qu'aucun édifice subsistant aujourd'hui en Egypte ne porte, à notre connaissance du moins, la légende complète des plus anciens de ces princes."—p. 296.

M. Champollion showed great modesty here in acknowledging that he had not been able to recover the complete legends of the more ancient sovereigns in the top row of the Table; and we ought, in consequence, to place implicit reliance in his assertions respecting those of the middle row. We may then of course be perfectly certain that he not only found out all the nom cartouches belonging to the prenoms of that row, but also that he detected and ascertained exactly the spoken names represented by them. Still however, with respect to what he so wonderfully accomplished under the latter head, I cannot help remarking it as being very strange, and perhaps contradictory, that he should have completely succeeded in deciphering all those cartouches, and yet have totally failed with the two of them whose versions he has left us as specimens of his success; for undoubtedly he no more established by proof his reading of Amenophis out of one of them, than that of Thouthmosis out of the other.

But to be serious, the principal point to be considered is not so much the means employed by M. Champollion, as the discovery at which he thereby arrived. To enable us then to follow him in this branch of what he professed to have achieved, let it be conceded that the exact names connected with the prenoms in columns 6 and 7 are ascertained, no matter how, to be the

Amenophis and Thouthmosis that are next to each other in the catalogue of Manetho, and let us see how the perfect agreement of the thirteen last cartouches of middle row with the 18th dynasty is thence made out. The first thing that must here strike one is his taking only thirteen cartouches, although there are seventeen names, in the list of Josephus to which he refers, besides that of Sesostris, or *Ramses le Grand*, which he maintained to be represented by the very last one of the row, in the column I have marked No. 1.^a But the reason of this great discrepancy will be instantly perceived on a comparison of the two documents which he was so careful to keep out of the immediate view of his reader. There are only four cartouches in the row between those of Amenophis and Sesostris, whereas there are nine names between those two in the catalogue, as may be seen in the copy of it near the end of last chapter, which agrees exactly with that given by Josephus as to the number of sovereigns of the 18th dynasty. In order then to make Sesostris and Amenophis exactly correspond in position with their cartouches, it was necessary to strike five names out of the catalogue; and this is precisely what M. Champollion did by assigning to the 18th dynasty and first name of the 19th only thirteen cartouches; but certainly this was a very singular way of proving the perfect accuracy of Manetho. Another curious contrivance to make the two records have an appearance of agreement—to any one who had not an opportunity of immediately comparing them—will be found in the following extract: “Ce fut donc un des Thouthmosis, c’est-à-dire, l’un des premiers rois de la XVIII.^e dynastie, qui agrandit et termina le temple d’Amada en Nubie, commencé par un de ses prédécesseurs nommé Aménophis; et nous trouvons en effet dans les dynasties de Manéthon, que le quatrième prédécesseur d’un

^a In numbering the columns I have inverted the order in which they were taken by M. Champollion; as it is more natural to reckon from the end of the monument which is perfect, and it is not known how many columns of cartouches are broken off from the other end.

Touthmosis se nomme *Αμενοφίς*; c'était le frère de la reine Amensés, qui occupa le trône après lui; cette princesse était aussi la bisaïeule d'un Touthmosis. *Il n'est plus douteux, en conséquence,* que l'Amenophis nommé dans le sanctuaire du temple d'Amada, n'ait été l'aïeul ou le père du Touthmosis qui a complété et achevé cet édifice."—p. 292. Here we are informed that the grandfather or father of the second Thouthmosis was an Amenophis, and this fact is arrived at as an inference from the preceding passage, in which it is stated that the fourth name above this Thouthmosis in Manetho's list was also an Amenophis. I confess I do not see any connexion between the two facts; and very possibly one of them is not intended to be derived from the other alone, but from a combination of all the circumstances mentioned in the passage. However there is here an appearance of a deduction, in part at least, from the catalogue of Manetho, which of course must agree with that catalogue; and it also tallies very well with the Table, for the prenom just next to that of Thouthmosis, that is, the one in column 8, is exactly that of legend No. 31, which has the same nom cartouche as No. 30, and therefore, according to the concession made at the commencement of this paragraph, belonged to an Amenophis; and the prenom in column 9, being only a variation of this one, may be allowed to have represented another sovereign of the same name. Thus the catalogue is made out apparently to agree with the Table, and no discrepancy between them is perceived until we come to inspect the former document, in which Mesphres is found to be the grandfather, and Misphragmuthosis the father of the Thouthmosis in question. So that if the consequence at which M. Champollion arrived in the above quoted passage was as undoubted as he asserted it to be; then, instead of its establishing an agreement between the two records, and a consequent accuracy in the one alphabetically written, it would undoubtedly prove this one to be false; for Amenophis is not inserted as either father or grandfather of Thouthmosis in any of the texts by which the catalogue of Manetho has been transmitted to us.

There is but one circumstance more of which I shall here take notice. Since prenom in column 7 has been conceded to be that of the second Thouthmosis, the one in column 13 ought to be the very same with it, as corresponding with the position of the first Thouthmosis in the catalogue: but these two cartouches are totally different. It is unnecessary to point out any more of the very numerous discrepancies which exist between the two records, and can be easily detected by comparing them together. Enough has been stated to show how very unfounded was M. Champollion's assertion, that he had discovered a perfect concordance between part of the Table of Abydos and the 18th dynasty in Manetho's canon. Undoubtedly the prenom in column 6 is that of the sovereign whom the Greeks long after his life-time called Memnon, and the one in column 7 is very nearly, or, according to Mr. Wilkinson's drawing, it is exactly, that of the legend out of the nom cartouche of which M. Champollion tried to decipher Thouthmosis; but with respect to the verbal names that were really denoted by those prenoms, we have only a very confused and inaccurate notion of one of them, and none at all of the other. However let it be for a moment conceded to be ascertained that the names expressed by them were exactly Amenophis and Thouthmosis, and consequently that the Table to this extent agreed with the catalogue; then instead of any further agreement between them following from such concession, a vast deal of discordance might be thence deduced even in the small part of the two documents which have been brought into comparison with each other. It is evident therefore that these two documents are quite irreconcilable, and that no deduction from the one could be made to agree with the other. Accordingly the lists produced by M. Champollion in his earlier publications differ essentially from Manetho's catalogue and from each other. Of this the reader may easily satisfy himself by comparing with the list of the Egyptian historian, given in the preceding chapter, the two here annexed, which I have copied from the *Examen Critique*, p. 154.

<i>I^{re} Edition du Précis.</i>	<i>I^{re} Lettre à M. de Blacas.</i>
Amosis.	Misphra-Thoutmosis.
Chebron.	Amenoftef.
Aménophis I.	Thôoutmosis I.
Amensès.	Ammon-Mai.
Mephchès ou Mesphchès.	Thoutmosis (Mœris).
Misphra-Touthmosis.	Aménophis I.
Touthmosis.	Thoutmosis III.
Amenophis II.	Amenophis II. (Memnon.)
Horus.	Horus.
Chenchères.	Ramsès I.
Rathosis.	Ousirei.
Ramsès I.	Ramsès II.
Ramsès Méiamoun.	Ramsès IV. (Méiamoun.)

M. Champollion, by adopting the second of these lists, abandoned the first; and by omitting to insert either of them in his most finished work upon hieroglyphs (the second edition of the *Précis*) virtually abandoned both: though he still adhered to the conclusion at which he pretended to have arrived through their aid, the perfect truth of Manetho's record.^a

^a M. Champollion, in his *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*, composed a third list, a copy of which, as far as it differs from the preceding ones, I extract from an article in one of the latest numbers (the 105th) of the *Quarterly Review*; and I subjoin from the same article two other lists, published since the Frenchman's; which appear to be grounded on his phonetic theory, and constructed on his plan.

" M. CHAMPOLLION.	SIGNOR ROSELLINI.	MR. WILKINSON.
	Amenôf, Amenoftef, or Amenophis.	
	Thutmes I. (<i>his son.</i>)	Ames.
	Thutmes II. (<i>his son.</i>)	Amunoph I.
	Amense (<i>his sister,</i> <i>Thutmes III. her</i> <i>first husband, Ame-</i> <i>nophis her second.</i>)	(<i>Amense included in the</i> <i>reign of Thotmes I.</i>)

Another point which M. Champollion wished to establish by means of the Table of Abydos, was the existence of a phonetic system among the Egyptians even before the time—according to him a very remote one—when the last name on that Table was written. One might naturally suppose that he would

"M. CHAMPOLLION.	SIGNOR ROSELLINI.	MR. WILKINSON.
	Thutmes IV. (<i>son of Amense and Thutmes III.</i>)	Thothmes I. (<i>her husband.</i>)
	Amenof II.	Thothmes II.
	Thutmes V.	Thothmes III.
	Amenôf III. (<i>his son.</i>)	Amunoph II. (<i>his son.</i>)
	Hôr.	Thothmes IV. (<i>his son.</i>)
	Tmauhmot.	Maut-ni-shoi (<i>regency.</i>)
	Ramses I. (<i>her brother.</i>)	Amunoph III. (<i>son of Thothmes IV. the supposed Memnon.</i>)
Meneptha I. (<i>Ousirei.</i>)	Menepthah I. (<i>his son.</i>)	Amun-men (<i>his son.</i>)
	Ramses II. (<i>his son.</i>)	Remeses or Remesso I.
Rhamses the Great (<i>Sesostris</i>).	Ramses III. (<i>his brother, Sesostris.</i>)	Osirei I. (<i>his son.</i>)
Menepthah II.	Menepthah II. (<i>his son.</i>)	Remeses II., or Remeses the Great, (<i>his son, Sesoosis or Sesostris.</i>)
Menepthah III.	Menepthah III. (<i>Taosra and Siphthah.</i>)	
Rhamerrè.	Verri.	Pthahmen Thmeioftep, or Thmeio-ftep-ho."

Certainly the five lists present a very strange appearance, considering that they are all primarily derived from one and the same record—the Table of Abydos. Our astonishment however is somewhat lessened, when it is recollected that there is but a single name phonetically written in that Table, and of course but one single word immediately thence derivable; for it is evident that upon such slight foundation a thousand different lists might be as easily and securely grounded as any one of these five. From the appearance of the last list, particularly of its names *Maut-ni-shoi* and *Thmeio-ftep-ho*, I should not be at all surprised if the next reading of the Table of Abydos with which we may be favoured (*à nubibus*) from Nubia, should prove to be the catalogue of a race of Chinese emperors.

have given up this point when he was forced to admit the preceding designations on the record to be ideagraphic. But no! he had, it seems, found out all the nom-cartouches belonging to those designations, and ascertained that they were phonetically written. Now even if this were true to the fullest extent, his inference would not follow—the appearance of the Table is too decidedly against it; and the only consequence that could be fairly arrived at, would be one already shown to be very probable, viz. that the royal names were originally expressed by prenoms alone, and that nom-cartouches were an addition to the legends introduced at a subsequent date. But it is very immaterial to determine what the consequence would be; as the antecedent supposition is entirely without foundation: M. Champollion produced but two of the nom-cartouches in question, those from which he endeavoured to make out the spoken names Amenophis and Thouthmosis, and he certainly did not succeed in proving either of them phonetic. As to the date which he assigned to the last name on the Table, it is equally certain that he did not establish this by any legitimate proof; and I think I shall be able to show, with some probability, that it was fixed by him too early by nearly a thousand years.

Here it may be amusing to observe the confidence with which M. Champollion spoke of his deductions from the record of Abydos, as if he had established them beyond all doubt by the most decisive and convincing arguments. The sequel of the passage in the *Précis* relating to this monument is framed in the following terms: “Ce fait capital, que les cartouches renfermant les noms propres des rois de la XVIII.^e dynastie, dont le tableau d’Abydos contient les cartouches prénoms rangés chronologiquement, lus au moyen de mon alphabet hiéroglyphique, donnent *exactement* des noms propres, que nous retrouvons écrits en lettres grecques et dans les dynasties de Manethon, et pour la plupart dans Hérodote et Diodore de Sicile, prouve donc, d’un côté, *la certitude entière de l’histoire égyptienne transmise en grec par ce prêtre de Sébennytus*, et d’autre part, *la haute antiquité des caractères signes de sons ou*

phonétiques dans le système d'écriture hiéroglyphique ou sacrée des anciens Egyptiens. La table généalogique ou chronologique du palais d'Abydos ne peut d'ailleurs être postérieure à *Ramsès le Grand* (Sésostris), puisqu'il est le dernier prince dont elle donne le prénom et même la légende royale entière."—pp. 296-7.

On the subject of his researches among the more ancient records in general, M. Champollion has expressed himself in the most triumphant manner. "J'ai lieu de croire que personne ne viendra du moins me contester encore la priorité dans cette manière tout-à-fait neuve de considérer le système hiéroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens à toutes les époques: si je me trompe donc, l'erreur m'appartient toute entière; mais si l'ensemble des faits reconnus et des faits nouveaux vient confirmer de plus en plus ma nouvelle théorie, comme cela arrive tous les jours, il est justice qu'on reconnaisse, *même en Angleterre*, que ces importants résultats sont le fruit de mes recherches."—p. 300. He was so confident of the importance and the priority of his efforts in this department, that he was ready to submit his claims to the credit thence arising to be decided *even* in England: just as if there were any people in the world more disposed than the English to show fair play, and to do justice to merit, in whatever quarter it may be found. As to the value and the certainty of the results at which he arrived in his attempts to decipher the more ancient Egyptian legends, enough has been already stated on that point. But with respect to his declaration that the method employed by him for the purpose had originated in his own invention; in order to show the modesty and truth of this assertion, it will be necessary to subjoin two extracts from the article of Dr. Young which was published in the Supplement of the Encyclopædia Britannica in the year 1819. The nom-cartouche No. 27 is therein exhibited at the very top of the list of royal legends, and the comment on it runs in these terms: "The hieroglyphic name of his [Mesphres's] father contains that of the god *Thoth*, and may therefore possibly have been intended for the *Thuthmosis* of the chronologers, who is

said to have been the grandfather of Mesphres."—p. 59. Here is clearly the hint from which M. Champollion borrowed his version of the corresponding nom-cartouche in legend No. 26; but as Dr. Young only hit upon a sort of mixed power for the first character of his group, and despaired of making out phonetic values for the other two, I shall add another passage from his essay, in which he gave a complete specimen of the method under consideration. The prenom cartouche No. 33, which may be observed to be a variation of that in column 11 of second row of the Table of Abydos, was supposed by him to represent *Remesses*, which name he endeavoured to arrive at by thus deciphering the characters of the group: "for we have RE, 'the sun;' MES, 'a birth;' and SHESH, 'a pair;' so that we may venture to call it Remesses."—p. 60. This example serves, by the way, strongly to illustrate the position which I have, as I conceive, already established; that if the Egyptians, in the transition from an ideagraphic to a phonetic use of characters, did at first employ some with the mixed powers here attributed to them; then, with the very imperfect knowledge which we can attain of their language and ideagraphic system, it would be quite in vain for us to attempt deciphering any name so written, until the aggregate collection of sounds denoted by the entire group was first ascertained through external means. From the want of such collateral support, the effort before us, though displaying very great ingenuity, entirely falls to the ground. The phonetic powers therefore which were thus brought together, must be considered as forming only a heap of unwarranted assumptions; but I must add, that the copies which M. Champollion hence formed, are not on that account less like their original. Dr. Young was afterwards aware of his failure in this instance, for the argument which he brought against M. Champollion's attempt to appropriate phonetic significations to the cartouches in the two upper rows of the Genealogical Table, equally tells against the effort here made by himself.

It only remains for me here to state, what I conceive to be the nature of this very remarkable record, discovered by Mr.

Wm. Bankes in excavating the ruins of Abydos. The opinion which at present prevails on the subject appears to be liable to an insuperable objection; for according to that opinion, the style of writing in the highest part of the Table ought to be much the oldest. But this is by no means the case; and the only cartouche in the entire collection which is certainly known to be very ancient, is found in the middle row, not even at the supposed older extremity of that row, but only in the sixth place from the opposite end; while those immediately preceding it are of a decidedly later style. The cartouches then cannot denote names placed in the same order as that in which the sovereigns they belonged to succeeded each other; and instead of recording a long succession of between thirty and forty reigns, they probably exhibit only three legends. The lowest row is acknowledged to contain but one legend, consisting of a pair of cartouches repeated with a little variation throughout the row; the introduction of phonetic signs here enabling us to ascertain beyond a doubt, that the whole series is confined to the designation of a single individual.

Now though we have not the same means of determining the precise use of the two upper rows, since they are entirely written with ideographic characters; yet I conceive we have some grounds for concluding, that they also were confined each of them to the denomination of one sovereign, who chose, if I may so express myself, to quarter on his coat of arms those of some of his ancestors, with such variations of them as fancy suggested, and without any regard to chronological or genealogical order. The chief reason which I have to offer for this opinion is as follows. Between the rows of cartouches there are several subordinate lines, in each of which the characters are, either every one or by pairs, the same. Of course these characters could not have been read horizontally, for that could not be done without pronouncing the same word eighteen, or at least nine times successively, which would be quite absurd: they must therefore have been taken vertically, and have denoted the relation of the two cartouches in the same column between

which they are interposed. Now without pretending to determine the signification of these connecting signs, I think it is evident that the same characters must have denoted the same relations. If then we take the cartouches of the second row in pairs, for instance, that in columns 9 and 10, in order to compare it with any other, as for example, that in columns 11 and 12; the two pairs which have been selected bear exactly the same relation to those under them in the bottom row; but the two latter pairs were confessedly confined to the designation of a single individual; therefore (I will not say it is a necessary consequence, but I submit it is a very probable one) the former pairs are also to be referred to a common denomination. In this manner it may be shown probable that the whole of the second row, whatever variety it may have in the immediate signification of its separate parts, was yet ultimately applied to the representation of but one name; and the point being thus made out for the second row, the same reasoning will lead to the same conclusion in reference to the first.

The internal evidence supplied by the writing in the cartouches themselves, through the very imperfect knowledge I possess upon the subject, is, I confess, but little and but vague. Still however, as far as it goes, it is quite in accordance with the result to which the above reasoning has led. There appears to be a very close correspondence, and almost a sameness in the immediate meaning of most of the cartouches of second row. Passing by that in column 1, for whose intrusion into the row I shall endeavour to account in the chapter after next, we may observe that every one of the rest begins with the same hieroglyph; which, if it was a pictural character, and denoted the sun, may be taken as an emblem of splendour, but if it was metaphorically used to denote the god of the sun, it may then be considered as the emblem of that god's favour and protection: but whatever it may have been here intended to express, it deserves to be remarked that this leading and prominent character occurs in all the cartouches which properly belong to the row, and has the same station assigned to it in them all. The pri-

mary signification of prenom No. 2 may be given—*splendour, vigilance, divinity, dominion*; of No. 3, *splendour, divinity, dominion*; of No. 4, *splendour, dominion, vigilance* (if there had been only one of the modifying signs underneath, it would have denoted that the abstract combination was to be read as a concrete one; but what the meaning of its repetition may be, I cannot pretend to say). In No. 5 we have, after splendour, an arm with the blade of a knife or a very short sword, not unlike the hand and dagger, an emblem of which our Norman ancestors were so fond. But if the sceptre denoted rule it is likely this character expressed subjugation: No. 5 therefore may be rendered, *splendour, subjugation of worlds*, (under which comes a group of uncertain signification, but according to M. Champollion's explanation it may be rendered) *approval of the sun*; No. 6, old Memnon's ensign, *splendour, divinity, dominion*; No. 7, *splendour of worlds*; No. 8, *splendour, dominion over worlds*; No. 9 (is more modest), *splendour, dominion over this world*; No. 10, *splendour, dominion over the world, and* (under the wavy line there appears to be a representation of the ground, and if so the continuation of the sentence may be) *in particular over the land*; No. 11, *splendour, dominion* (over the world, which is modified by a sign that possibly may make it qualified with the idea of being peopled or inhabited, because where this character is used as a primary one in Nos. 16 and 18, it seems to denote nations, the plural number being there expressed by writing it three times, instead of once with three upright lines underneath—the remainder of the combination would thus come out) *over the inhabited part of the world*; No. 12, *splendour, subjugation of the earth*; No. 13, *splendour, dominion, vigilance on earth*. I cannot pretend to give any explanation of Nos. 14 and 15, farther than that they both begin with splendour; Nos. 16 and 18 being correspondent expressions, the middle character in former may be considered equivalent to that similarly placed in latter, whose signification is well known: No. 16 therefore may be rendered, *splendour, dominion over*

nations ; No. 17, *splendour, dominion over the world* ; No. 18, *splendour, dominion over nations*.

Here I beg to remind the reader that I do not by any means pretend to give the above attempts as the certain readings of the cartouches ; all I wish to deduce from those readings is a probability of some common meaning running through the immediate signification of the several cartouches ; which would remove any inconsistency from the supposition of their being all employed as characteristic descriptions of the same individual. However this explanation is in no way connected with my main theory as to the origin of phonetic signs ; and I lay no stress on it, further than maintaining that it is pressed with less difficulties and objections than the received opinion on this subject.

Although I confine the cartouches of the middle row to the designation of one personage, yet I suppose them taken from the denominations of different sovereigns predecessors of this one ; and when the royal titles immediately expressed by them are compared with those employed in China among a people using the same kind of writing, one cannot avoid being struck with the very close analogy which holds between them. Certainly, as far as depends upon the pompous titles of Sovereigns, the Egyptian kingdom had as good a right as the Chinese one, to be called "the celestial empire."

CHAPTER VI.

ROSETTA INSCRIPTION—COMPARISON OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH METHODS OF ATTEMPTING TO DECIPHER IT—FAULTS OF EACH METHOD—INVESTIGATION OF HIEROGLYPHIC FORMS OF EXPRESSION EQUIVALENT TO THOSE IN LANGUAGE—CALLED VERBS, NOUNS, VERBAL NOUNS—OR WHICH CHANGE THE ACTIVE INTO THE PASSIVE VOICE, OR A VERB INTO A PARTICIPLE.

BEFORE I resume the thread of my argument on the positive side of the question respecting the date and origin of the first phonetic writing in Egypt, and avail myself of the aid which, among other documents, the Rosetta inscription supplies for the purpose; it may be worth while to examine in a more general point of view this highly interesting monument, which M. Klaproth has so justly characterized as the great touchstone of all hieroglyphic investigation. But the specimens of the writing in this record which have as yet been published in books, are too small in extent, and, I must add, too carelessly executed,^a to convey any correct notion on the subject: and although the plates which were engraved at the expense of the Antiquarian Society of London in 1803, were by that body liberally distributed among the learned; yet, I believe, they come within reach of only few, compared with the whole number of those persons who would be capable of deriving gratification from exercising their own judgment in the examination of their contents. Hence, as I have access to those plates, I am induced to hope that I shall perform an agreeable service to the intelligent portion of the public by presenting to them a tolerably exten-

^a From the second part of this censure I should except Dr. Young's copy of the last line of the inscription, as given in the plates of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; but it is by no means long enough for the purpose for which a sample is here wanted; as the reader will presently see.

sive and accurate synopsis of corresponding parts of the three kinds of writing. Besides the British engravings are the only original authentic representation of Egyptian caligraphy which I have had the advantage of seeing,^a and I am therefore the more anxious to make the best use I can of them, and to share the benefit of their inspection with others. I have in consequence copied out with care two of the hieroglyphic lines, with as much of the Greek text as has been hitherto identified in meaning with any of the groups in them, and with the entire Enchorial version of the second line. As far as I could trace any correspondence I have placed the Enchorial characters immediately under the equivalent hieroglyphs, and observed the same rule in the arrangement of the Greek. The engraving of this hieroglyphic chart, if I may so call it, has been faithfully executed;^b and will, I expect, afford some aid to those who take an interest in such investigations.

The lines which I thus submit to the reader's view, are the twelfth and fourteenth, containing rather more than a fifth part of the hieroglyphs that still remain upon the stone in an un-mutilated state. And I have selected these two, because M. Klaproth in his *Examen Critique* has analyzed the former ac-

^a I do not make any qualification of this assertion, on account of having seen the Egyptian obelisks at Rome about eighteen years ago; for although I was eager enough in the examination of other objects of curiosity there, yet I passed by these without any notice of the inscriptions on them, not having at the time the least idea that I should ever engage in an attempt to decipher hieroglyphs.

^b The artist unluckily thought he would improve my Greek letters by giving them a more modern appearance; but in all other respects he has closely adhered to the drawing which I put in his hands to copy. In that drawing I made but two alterations from the British engraving; both of them of a semicircle, in which, from the smallness of the hieroglyph, and the decayed state of the stone, a mistake may have easily been committed by the English engraver. In No. 7 a crescent, and in No. 50 an ellipse, has been substituted for the semicircle; which changes the reader will find to be evidently required by the sense, as pointed out by the Greek and context: but as I made them at all, I think it right to apprise him of the fact.

according to the phonetic theory of the French school of archeography; and Dr. Young has left to us in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* his interpretation of the latter on the supposition of its text being ideagraphic. The examination therefore of this portion of the inscription affords an opportunity of directly comparing the French and English methods; and will enable me to give some illustration of the principles which I have already laid down, before I proceed to make that use of it which is more immediately connected with the object of the present essay. But in bringing the two attempts into direct comparison, I disclaim the invidious intention of throwing a slur upon French abilities. No one, at all acquainted with modern literature, can have the least doubt of the genius and talents of that people; and whoever has studied any portion of their mathematical works, must be fully sensible that their men of science possess investigating powers of the very highest order. I repeat it then, it is methods, not men, that I wish here to compare; and having premised this explanation, I shall not hesitate, as I go along, to make without restraint, but also, I hope, without partiality, such remarks as the subject before me naturally and obviously suggests.

Both lines are distinguished into groups that are numbered for the convenience of reference, and the upper one has annexed to such of its characters as are assumed to be phonetic, letters expressing the powers attributed to them in the French system. The letters are the same as those which M. Klaproth has employed for the purpose, except in a few instances, in which he has exhibited wrong characters. Most probably this was occasioned by his having had before him an inaccurate copy of the inscription: but at all events, from the fairness and candour which I have observed in the small portion of M. Klaproth's works that I have had the pleasure of reading, I am certain that the misrepresentations to which I allude were not on his part intentional. The hieroglyphs which are not marked with letters are admitted to have either ideagraphic or unknown powers. With respect to the lower hieroglyphic line, which is the very

last one of the inscription, I have separated, sometimes the parts of it, and sometimes those of the corresponding Enchorial one, more widely asunder than as they are exhibited in the British engravings; in order to bring into juxta-position the equivalent groups and characters of the two texts: but where I was unable to discover any correspondence I have made no such separations, and I have never in any instance ventured to change the order of the characters in either text. Of the Greek, on the other hand, I was forced, from the plan pursued, to violate the order, and to omit a great deal; for which reasons I shall prefix to each commentary the entire corresponding portion still extant of the writing in this language, with a loose translation. In my chart the shape of the Greek letters is (not indeed as exactly as I could wish, but still with some resemblance) preserved, except that the Α and Θ are marked so as to distinguish them from the Λ and Ο, the former pair being seldom, and the latter never, distinguishable in the original engraving. The other Greek characters, considering the great age of the record, are wonderfully plain; but still to a person unused to such writing, it is by no means an easy task to read it; as the entire, from one end to the other, is joined together as if it was but a single word, without any mark of division between its parts, or any interval, except in a few places where a letter may have been from some cause or other effaced; and besides considerable difficulty is occasioned by the circumstance of a large portion towards the lower end of the right side having been broken off. I confess I was surprized to find the *sigma* written as it is; for I had never before met it among uncial letters, except with the C shape. In the part which I had to examine with the view of inserting it in my text, I found wrong in the British engraving only one letter, which occurs in the middle of the word ΘΥΣΙΑΣ, wherein there is inserted an Ε instead of the Σ: the mistake has been corrected by the French.

The extant portion of the Greek which corresponds to, or rather extends a little beyond the twelfth hieroglyphic line, is as

follows: *In line 49*, ΤΩΙ ΑΙΩΝΟΒΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΑΠΗΜΕΝΩΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΘΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΙ ΚΑΤΕΝΙ *Line 50*, ΧΩΡΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΩΥΘ ΕΦ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΕΝ ΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΗΣΟΥΣΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΘΥΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΝΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΤΑ ΚΑΘΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕ *Line 51*, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΙΣ ..ΡΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΩΝ ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΧΩΡΙΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ Δ

Which may be thus paraphrased: "For the ever-living and beloved by Phthah, for King Ptolemy, God Epiphanes, very gracious, yearly *shall this festival be celebrated throughout the country, five days, commencing from the first of the month Thouth; during which days those assembled to make sacrifices and libations, and to perform other suitable ceremonies, shall wear garlands, being called and priests of the God Epiphanes very gracious, in addition to the other names which they derive from the Gods in whose service they do priestly duty. Moreover, persons are strictly commanded by this decree to set apart funds for all the expenses and for the*"

On the corresponding hieroglyphs, and the powers attributed to them in the French system, the following is M. Klaproth's commentary. The numbers within crotchets have been introduced by me to point out in each instance the hieroglyphic group or character to which the interpretation or note is to be referred. The numbers out of crotchets are the author's own references, and are made by him to the book of plates connected with the second edition of the *Précis*, unless where he specially mentions some other book. If the reader looks to the numbers referred to, he will find that M. Klaproth has correctly quoted the interpretations of hieroglyphs that have been given by M. Champollion in his book of plates. But that is the sole advantage he can derive from such inspection, as the interpretations

there made are not accompanied by any reasoning in their support. In one instance, indeed, there is a reference to a page of the *Précis* itself, where there is an attempt at a reason which shall be noticed in its proper place. The commentary (which with the copy of the hieroglyphs occupies five pages of the *Examen Critique*, commencing at the 144th) runs thus :

“ [2] *Précis*, No. 22, *onh*, la vie—toujours vivant—ce mot manque dans le texte grec—[4, 5] Pr. 226, *noute*, dieu—395, *hr*, *hri*, resplendissant—dieu resplendissant, dans le grec *ἐπιφανής*, distingué—[6] 425, *nèb én netofre*, seigneur des biens—dans le grec *εὐχαρίστος*, gracieux—[7] chaque année—*Rompe*, année (Champollion, *Précis* B. p. 214, Pl. XIII. No. 5)—*chaque année* se dit en copte, *entemrompi*, et *une fois par an* est *ousop entemrompi*—[8] *Cha*, première des trois saisons de l'année. Champollion dans Kosegarten *Literatura Ægyptiorum*, Tab. D—[9] *ma*, dans un lieu—dans. Voyez *Précis* B, pl. D, No. 131—[12] soleil, jour—441, *nofre*, bon—[13] jours, jours, cinq—[15] porter couronnes—Les mots coptes pour couronne sont *khlo*m et *jrèpi*. Rien de semblable ne se voit dans le texte hiéroglyphique—[16] 317, panégyrie—[17] *ouï*, marque du pluriel, No. 23—[21] 38, *hi*, et—[24] quelquefois M. Champollion traduit ce signe par *adoration*—[26] 304, *ouib*, prêtre—[27] No. 4. *a*—*na* ou *naï* est, selon le *Précis* de M. Champollion, une espèce de *pronom démonstratif* qui se combine avec les groupes exprimant des noms—[28] 291, *rpe*, temple—[29] 240, terre, contrée—[30] Ici devrait se trouver le mot *nom*, en copte, *ran* ou *ren*, qui signifie *donner un nom*. Il est peut être indiqué par le signe du cartouche—[31] 273, la royauté. Ce mot ne se trouve pas dans le texte grec—[32] 245, *rome*, homme—[39] cassé—[41] ce groupe est très-fréquent dans l'inscription de Rosette; il représente, selon toute apparence, l'affixe de la troisième personne du pluriel. Les lettres *s n i* du texte hiéroglyphique n'ont pourtant aucun rapport avec les mots coptes qui ont la même signification. Nous croyons que M. Champollion s'est trompé en expliquant ce groupe (*Précis*, No. 30) par '*sne*, *sné*, affixe, troisième per-

sonne du futur, pluriel, genre commun; copte : *sene, sena'*——
[43] cassé.”

The Greek corresponding to the last hieroglyphic line is itself also the last (or 54th) line of the writing with which it is more immediately connected, and the part of it still extant runs thus: ..ΤΕΡΕΟΥ ΛΙΘΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΧΩΡΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΣΑΙ ΕΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΩ ΤΩΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΤΩ.. ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΩ..—— “—— of hard stone, in both sacred and Enchorial and Greek characters. Moreover *persons are by this decree most imperatively and strictly commanded* to erect in each of the temples of the first order and of the second ——.”

In the following extract from Dr. Young's essay, as well as in that which I have taken from the *Examen Critique* of M. Klaproth, the crotchets are used to distinguish the numbers referring to my chart, from those inserted by the author himself. His own references are made to preceding paragraphs of the treatise, in which the reasons advanced in support of his views, though often inadequate, are always ingenious: and I have no doubt but that it would amuse the reader to see those passages. But it would occupy too much space if I was to give them all; so I shall confine myself to producing one or two of them as a sample, when I come to make my remarks on both commentaries. In the mean time Dr. Young's, which will be found in page 71 of the volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* containing the article on Egypt, is couched in these terms: “The last line of the inscription of Rosetta will serve as a specimen of the way in which the hieroglyphical characters were combined, so as to form a language; and will show at the same time the relation between the sacred and the enchorial texts. At the beginning of the line we find some obscurity, and a want of perfect correspondence in the two inscriptions; but it is clear that [48] the fork or ladder, the arm and the feathers, mean to *prepare* or *procure*—n. 165; then follows [49] *a column*—n. 91; [50] the wavy line, *of*—n. 177; [50] the semicircle and two dashes, with the arm, probably *strong* or *hard*; [50] the block or

square below, with its semicircle, *stone* ; [51] the loop or knot, *wrought* or engraven ; [51] the half arch, *in* or *with* ; [52] the instrument or case, *writing* or letters—n. 103 ; [52] the wavy line, the hatchet, and drop, with the three dashes making a plural, *appropriate to the gods*, that is sacred—n. 146 ; [53] the case again, *letters* ; [53] the hat, *of*—n. 177 ; [53] the ladder, arm, and feathers, *the country* ; [54] the serpent and bent line, approaching to the sense of perpetuity and greatness, seem to be a mark of respect to the country, though it is barely possible that they may be substituted for the repetition of the instrument or case, and may mean the language, and belong to the following [54] curl on the stem, the feathers, the serpent, and the hat, which signify *Greek*—n. 83. [55] The head-dress of flowers meaning probably a priest, the following curl with the dashes probably ornamental or honorary, or perhaps collective, and [56] the two bowls with the man in the plural, a publication—n. 158, the whole of these symbols must express, *the honorary decree of the priests, or the decree of the assembled priests* ; but the Enchorial text seems to include the symbol for honour. [57] The oval, with the semicircle and arm, implies in order that, or *in order to* ; [58] the fork with cross bars, the arm, the legs, and the snake, *set it up*—n. 164 ; [59] the bird *in*—n. 172 ; [60] the three broad feathers over as many open squares, *the temples*, as a plural ; [61] the half arch and oval, with the plural dashes, all, or *of all kinds* ; [62] the open square, wheel, scale, head, dash, and ring, *Egypt*—n. 80 ; [63] the figure with a vase on his head, subjection, or power, as in n. 139 ; making the whole, belonging to Egypt, or *throughout Egypt* ; [64] the fork and dash are in, or *in all* ; [65, 66, 67] the knots or chains, followed by the numbers, *of the first, the second, and the third order*—n. 187, 189, 191 : [68] the oval, half arch, and dash, *wherever*, or in which, leaving out ‘shall be ;’ [69] the tool and standing figure, with the intervening characters, *the image*—n. 101 ; [70] the hat, *of* ; [71] the reed and bee, with the semicircles, *king* ; [72] the square, semicircle, lion, half arch, two feathers, and bent line, *Ptolemy*—n. 56 ; [73] the handled cross

and serpent, with the two semicircles, the *everliving*—n. 110; [74] the square block, semicircle, and chain, *dear to*—n. 162; [74] the hieralpha and two feathers, *Phthah*, or Vulcan—n. 6; all this being included within the ring or phylactery together with the name; [76] the open square, the oval, and the pair of legs after the ring, *illustrious*, or Epiphanes—n. 121; and lastly, [77] the scale and the three lutes, *munificent*—n. 154; the conjunctions being often omitted, as they also very commonly are in Coptic, and even in Greek.

“The enchorial text agrees in many parts extremely well with the hieroglyphics, according to the general style of imitation which has been already explained and exemplified, although in some passages there is a greater difference than might have been expected. The beginning of the enchorial line seems to contain the word decree, which cannot be found in this part of the hieroglyphics; the character for letters occurs three times in it, as if the sacred character used in the third place meant language; the “sacerdotal decree” of the sacred characters is omitted in the corresponding part of the enchorial; the word temples is repeated before each numeral; the term wherever is amplified; the image is a very coarse imitation, and is followed by the character for a deity; meaning sacred or divine; and, lastly, the name of Ptolemy is omitted, the word king being only followed by ‘whose life shall be for ever;’ or a phrase of similar import.”

I shall now proceed with my remarks, and, to avoid repetition, I beg to refer the reader, by the numbers here employed, not only to the chart, but also to the parts of either commentary immediately following the same numbers placed within crotchets, in those instances in which the hieroglyphic characters referred to have had any comment made upon them.

No. 1.—The commencement of this group is lost by the fracture of the stone; in the equivalent group, No. 72, the sign of the vowel *o* is omitted. These two groups are the only ones in the entire chart which can be proved to be phonetic; and these, having an immediate connexion with language, will be found to present

an appearance in exact conformity with that very peculiar property of the ancient Egyptian tongue, to which we have been already led by analogy, namely, that the words of it were never altered in their termination by means of grammatical inflexions. Here accordingly the end of the phonetic group is unchanged, although in both instances the name is employed in an oblique case. In the Greek line βασιλεῖ has been placed before Πτολεμαίῳ, because if the hieroglyphic line had not been mutilated the bee and sceptre would have been exactly before the royal cartouche; as may be seen by the position of the group No. 71. By the way, the sceptre in this group, No. 71, is called by M. Champollion a plant, and is always delineated by him as such; but if the British engraving can be depended on, the secondary lines of the figure are not at all the branches shooting upwards of a plant, but are cross-bars at right angles to the principal line, apparently the guards of the handle to the sceptre. And the artist has drawn it exactly in the same way in two other parts of the inscription where it appears in the same combination, viz. in the sixth and seventh lines.

No. 2.—The meaning of this group is completely ascertained by the Greek to be “ever-living;” and it is very easily analyzed, as the separate values of three of its characters are well known from other places. For the serpent denotes “eternity,” and the two under it to the left being subsidiary signs, that to the right, which Dr. Young calls a handled cross, is the only remaining one to express the other leading idea of the combination, *i. e.* “life.” The little horizontal oblong rectangle is equivalent to the wavy line, and signifies that the whole is to be united into one expression, and the semicircle changes that expression from the abstract to the concrete state, or from “eternal life” to “ever-living.” According to the French theory, however, the group is phonetic in three of its characters, which are equivalent to *t t n*, and compose a word of three syllables, of which these letters, in the order they are here placed in, form the consonantal parts, while the remaining character is ideographic, and is to be read by the word ωπρ, *onh*. Now I

readily admit that the Coptic monosyllable denoting "life," was probably the old Egyptian word also for that idea; but unless we knew—what we have no chance of ever knowing—the Egyptian for "ever-living," what possible use could we make of the *t t n*? Even if the older Coptic of this meaning were known, which I presume it is not, as it has not been produced, still as it most probably was a compound word, we could not depend on its having been the same in the mother tongue. If the French theory then, with respect to this group, were right, it would leave us in utter hopelessness of being ever able to analyze it; but fortunately the application of that theory here is entirely gratuitous, and rests only on mere assumption; while on the other hand the ideagraphic analysis above given has at least this much to support it, that it supplies a satisfactory and consistent explanation. M. Klaproth's observation that the word for this group is wanting in the Greek text, is one of the reasons which make me think he could not have had an authentic copy of the inscription before him when he was making his commentary.

The group No. 3 has been altogether omitted by M. Klaproth, most probably from the same cause as that to which I have attributed his omission of the Greek of No. 2. The letters therefore here inserted are not his, but are taken immediately from M. Champollion's explanation. That explanation has been already proved wrong, and the group analyzed upon ideagraphic principles, I hope, to the satisfaction of the reader. Here then I have only to add that the principal character has been omitted by the Egyptian insculptor—a character that would be essential even supposing the group were phonetic, for though the *m* might answer without the *i*, the converse certainly does not hold. This shows that we never can be certain of two hieroglyphic groups having different significations on account of a character in the one collection which does not appear in the other. In phonetic groups the dropping of a single character is easily detected, and consequently does little or no mischief; but the case is quite different with respect to ideagraphic com-

binations, which, if they differ in any ingredient whatever, may have been used in the denoting of persons having verbal names that were totally different. Yet great as must have been the confusion that would in process of time arise from such omissions, we have here a clear instance that they actually did occur; and the proof of their occurrence supplied by this instance is particularly strong, because the Rosetta inscription is, I believe, the specimen of the most perfect hieroglyphic writing that has reached us, and because the character dropped has been left out of that part of the inscription in which the greatest care might be expected to have been taken by the insculptor, viz. the principal name of the record, and again out of a combination making part of that name wherein it was the most important ingredient. No confusion, I admit, arises from the omission in this particular example, because the phonetic parts of the cartouches in the Rosetta inscription sufficiently identify them; but the case would be very different if they were wholly ideagraphic, if they were found in separate documents, and if there were no external circumstances to prove they represented the same person, and in consequence the same spoken name.

No. 4 is admitted to be ideagraphic, and yet M. Klaproth, by way of explanation, informs us that the corresponding word in Coptic was *noute*; although the essential property of ideagraphic writing is, that it is quite independent of language, and that we express the meaning of the emblem fully as well by the French or English name of Deity as by the Coptic one. Thus by the French system the hieroglyphic student is drawn off from his only secure ground, the meaning of the character, which is known to a certainty by means of the Greek word $\theta\epsilon\omega$; and has his attention turned to a point that is not certain (for from $\text{H}\omega\tau\epsilon$ being the Coptic for Deity, it does not necessarily follow that it was the old Egyptian word to express that idea), and that, even if it was certain, would still, in reference to this subject, not be of any use.

No. 5 has been already discussed, and while the ideagraphic analysis is sustained by exhibiting a combination of thoughts

closely analogous to those which have given rise to the formation of several compound words; it has been also shown that neither have the phonetic powers, attributed to the characters in the French system, been established by any proof, nor if they had been, would they form xp , *hr*, or Dip , *hir*, the Coptic for *resplendent*, which is the word attempted to be made out of them.

No. 6 is admitted to be ideagraphic; and my analysis of it, which is nearly the same as the French one, though arrived at by a different route, has been already given. Here again M. Klaproth draws off the hieroglyphic student from his only certain and useful subject of attention, by informing him that the Coptic for the analyzed meaning of the group is *nèb én netofre*; and thus carries him not only to what is not known to be the old Egyptian for the expression, but also to what is actually known *not* to be the Coptic for it, by means of the evidence which M. Klaproth has himself supplied. For if $\text{H}\alpha\beta\ \text{H}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\phi\pi\epsilon$ has been rightly translated by him, *seigneur des biens*, I submit to his judgment whether it would not signify *a rich man*; and therefore not at all be the Coptic for the hieroglyphic group, which is known by the Greek to have denoted *a gracious man*. M. Klaproth has himself read this group in another place (*Examen Critique*, p. 139), *seigneur des trois bontés ou de la triple bonté*,^a which is much nearer to a correct reading of its component parts;^a and if he had Coptic for this, he probably would have given it; but in consequence of the erroneous theory now in fashion among the French, he has preferred to produce wrong Coptic, rather than not give any at all. To his correcter reading of the group he has subjoined the following remark: “et l’on voit que le sens est loin d’être le même que celui d’ $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, *gracieux*,” and he considers this example as afford-

^a The only remaining inaccuracy in this reading is that it expresses a definite number. The Greek translation of group No. 26 will show that the writing of a character three times signifies merely a plural number or a great number.

ing a striking proof that "le texte grec de l'inscription de Rosette n'est pas une traduction littérale de la partie hiéroglyphique." There is a fallacy in this reasoning which I should not have expected from a writer of M. Klaproth's judgment, but of which I am sure he will be fully sensible the moment it is pointed out. Of course I do not suppose him so inaccurate as to have used the word "traduction" here in its ordinary sense of a translation from one language into another; because, as he admits the group under consideration to be ideographic, the Greek for it has no reference to any other language whatever, but has an immediate one to the writing itself, and is just as original a reading of that writing as the Egyptian one would be found to be, if we could come at it and make out its meaning. But he obviously erred in taking for granted, that the immediate reading of the group would consist of the words which, in the language of the reader, expressed the separate signification of its component parts. Surely M. Klaproth must be perfectly aware, that the ancient Egyptian did not read the combination of "an eye and a throne" by the words which in his language denoted an eye and a throne, but by the word "Osiris." And to come more home to European modes of expression, it surely would be wrong to assert that neither "I comprehend," nor "j'entends," was a literal translation of "intelligo," because the analyzed meaning of the component parts of the former is, "I catch or lay hold of and bring together," and of the latter, "I stretch or bend something inwardly." However then we may analyze the parts of a hieroglyphic expression, and however different the meaning thus arrived at may be from the Greek reading of a group, we have no right thence to infer that that reading did not give the close and exact meaning which the whole compound was employed to express. And in fact when the matter is considered it will be found, that the analogy of the meaning of the separate parts to that of the compound is much closer and more intelligible in the case of the Egyptian combination before us, than in that of either the French or English word to which I have just alluded. It may

also be observed, that in all probability the practised hieroglyphic reader did not at all take notice of the ideas of "mastership" and "good qualities" which would have been suggested to his mind by the parts of this group, if they had been separately presented to his view; but that he proceeded at once to the idea of "graciousness:" just in like manner as an English reader does not dwell on the separate elements of the word "gracious," or read it in the way in which, while first learning the use of letters, he would have done, as a word of eight syllables; but passes at once to the proper articulate sound, or rather to the idea denoted by that sound; being rendered by the force of habit totally unconscious of the intermediate steps which he has taken in the process. With respect to the general tenor of the hieroglyphic and alphabetic writing in this inscription, there is certainly so far a want of exact correspondence between the two kinds, that useless repetitions which occur in the one, have been omitted in the other, as unsuited to the style of the language with which it is immediately connected; and in the latter some minuter and less important circumstances not essential to a full understanding of the decree have also been left out. But as to the Greek which has been actually expressed in the inscription, there is no ground whatever for assuming that it does not fairly and accurately represent the meaning of the corresponding hieroglyphic groups; on the contrary, there is the strongest reason for concluding that it does: for the two exhibitions of the decree emanated from the same authority, and were written under the same direction. This point is entitled to some consideration, and I have discussed it fully; because, if the Greek did not present to us a correct reading of the hieroglyphs—if it was not, as far as it extends, exactly the same in sense as the Egyptian reading of those same hieroglyphs—then all chance of our ever being able to decipher them would be utterly lost.

I now come to group No. 7, the characters of which I shall designate by the letters expressing the phonetic powers that are attributed to them in the modern system of the French school,

and I shall, for the sake of brevity, make use of the same mode of designation through the remainder of the first hieroglyphic line. This combination then of *r e t e* with an ideagraphic sign for a year, M. Klaproth translates “chaque année,” supposing it to correspond with the *κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν* of the Greek text. He moreover informs us that *rompe* is the Coptic for “a year;” *entemrompi*, for “each year;” and *ousop entemrompi*, for “once a year;” which is, of course, telling a great deal to the point, and affording quite a satisfactory explanation, as to what was the old Egyptian expression of the same meaning with “chaque année,” and how the phonetic characters *r e t e* make up the first part of that expression. In proof of the character, admitted to be ideagraphic, denoting a year, M. Klaproth refers us to page 214 of the *Précis*, but when we turn to that page, we are sent back again for the proof of the point to this very place; which leaves us just as wise as we were before as to the meaning of the hieroglyph. However as to the shape of it, we are there informed that a very long sceptre, with thirty notches or indentures on the exterior side of its curve, represented a period of thirty years; and that the curved sceptre denoting one year ought to have one such notch or indenture on the back of it; in proof of which point also, we are sent hither to the very character under consideration. But unfortunately the British engraving does not bear out the reference, or exhibit the sceptre with any distinguishing mark annexed to it. However as M. Klaproth has delineated the character in accordance with the information supplied by the *Précis*, either he must have found it in other inscriptions so marked where the context proved that it signified a year, and thence have added the indenture on its back, although worn out by age from its insculpture on the Rosetta stone; or we have here another instance to show that he took his copy from an incorrect representation of the hieroglyphs. In the mean time it may be observed, that the only thing certainly right in the entire explanation of the group is the meaning attributed to the sceptre; which however is not due to French invention, for M. Champollion took it, though,

as usual, without any acknowledgement, from the treatise of Dr. Young, where it will be found in article No. 180. As to the downright absurdity of the *re te* part of the analysis, it will be best shown by producing the true reading of the group.

For this purpose it will be necessary first to fix the exact meaning of the Greek expression, ἀπὸ τῆς νομηνίας τοῦ Θωύθ. Now, at the date of the Rosetta inscription the Egyptian year was the Nabonassarean one of twelve months and five days, each month containing just thirty days: and as these months were not lunar, or depending on the age of the moon, the *neomenia* did not signify the day of new moon in any month but the first day of the month. From this circumstance, and from Thouth having been the name of the first month of the above-mentioned year, it follows that the exact signification of the Greek phrase is, “from the first day of the first month of the year;” and if we add the preceding Greek words, κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν, then the meaning of the entire will be, “from the first day of the first month of each year.” But on inspection of the hieroglyphic group there will be found, on one side of the sceptre denoting a year, a little figure of the sun, as sign of a day, with an unit under it, and on the other side, similarly placed, a little figure of the moon, as sign of a month,^a with an unit likewise underneath: and the whole of this group, it is quite obvious, may be

^a Horus Apollo states in the fourth article of his first book, that a fortnight was represented by the moon with the horns turned upwards; and a month, by the same object facing downward, which latter figure the hieroglyph here is evidently intended to exhibit. Μῆνα δὲ γράφοντες, βάϊν ζωγραφοῦσιν, ἢ σελήνην ἐπεστραμμένην εἰς τὸ κάτω. — σελήνην δὲ ἐπεστραμμένην εἰς τὸ κάτω, ἐπειδὴ φασιν, ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ πεντεκαίδεκα μοιρῶν ὑπάρχουσιν, πρὸς τὸ ἄνω τοῖς κέρασιν ἐσχηματίσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀποκρούσει, τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν πληρώσασαν, εἰς τὸ κάτω τοῖς κέρασι νεύειν. However I quote this account of the matter only *ex abundanti*, for I look upon the authority of the Rosetta inscription as far superior to that of Horus Apollo.

read off by the English words which have been just ascertained to express the exact meaning of the Greek.

As there cannot be the slightest doubt that the true reading of the group has been here unfolded, I shall pause for a moment to point out to the reader the vast inferiority of hieroglyphic in comparison with alphabetic writing. The Rosetta stone exhibits the Egyptian use of hieroglyphs in probably the highest state of perfection to which it ever attained; and whatever is connected with a date, is of all things that which is most easily expressed with exactness and precision. Yet there is a most striking want of these qualities in the combination before us: there is no sign here for the preposition "from"—none to mark that the numbers are to be read in an ordinal state—none to indicate the qualification "each" or "every"—there is nothing but the context to point out those three circumstances to the reader, and that expression to which the whole of the *rette* characters is appropriated according to the theory of the French school, is altogether omitted in the hieroglyphic group. Still farther, if the British engraving be a correct representation of the shape of the hieroglyphs, the central one here is properly the sign of "great," and is known to be transferred to the signification of "a year" merely by its position between day and month, in reference to which that length of duration may be so called. What gives some probability to this interpretation of the meaning of the character is, that the group No. 12 is apparently a repetition of the one before us, and the hieroglyph which is there similarly situated between day and month, properly denotes "good;" a "good" portion of time there, like a "great" portion of it here, seeming to be limited to the signification of a year by the meaning of the characters which symmetrically surround it. However some uncertainty hangs over this analysis of group No. 12, because the different significations of the character in it under the moon are not yet sufficiently ascertained: in No. 5 it appears to denote an open mouth, and that primary signification of it will probably answer every where; but there are many places in the two lines of the chart where the context

requires an expression for “through,” and where consequently it probably is used immediately as the sign of a perforation; while in the present place it seems to denote an entrance, and thence “initial.” If other combinations be found in which the context requires this last meaning for the character, then my interpretation of No. 12 will be borne out, but for the present it can only be looked upon as a conjectural one. Confining myself then to what is certain in the analysis of group 7, the three great deficiencies in the expression of its meaning which were first pointed out, deserve attention. For if accuracy and precision were to be found any where in hieroglyphs they would appear in this passage; as is evident both from the nature of the writing—the finest specimen of the art which has reached our times; and from the nature of the subject—the one of all others the most easily expressed. The consideration therefore of those deficiencies will serve to make us more sensible of the great blessing and advantage afforded to mankind by alphabetic writing, even in the rudest and most imperfect state in which it ever existed.

I shall now pass over as rapidly as I can the remainder of the first line, because I shall have to revert to great part of it, when I come to the investigation of the hieroglyphic expressions that are equivalent to verbs. M. Klaproth has exhibited Nos. 8 and 11 exactly the same in shape; in which I am rather inclined to think he was right, although I have drawn them differing a little from each other, because I would not, without the necessity for doing so being very obvious, deviate from the British engraving. It evidently is possible that the two characters may have been originally insculped with some small variation of figure, notwithstanding the certainty which shall presently be established, of their having been used with the same primary signification. In No. 12, M. Klaproth, although he admits the central hieroglyph to be ideagraphic, and elsewhere states the right ground on which the fixing of its primary meaning rests, viz. that the Greek reading of it in two places of the fifth hieroglyphic line is *ἀγαθός*; yet here tells us that *nofre* is the Cop-

tic for good; which indeed is true, but has nothing to do with the subject of inquiry, and is only calculated to mislead both himself and his reader. For the real point for consideration is, what is the word corresponding to this character in the Greek text; which happens to be here complete, and which certainly has no expression for good or goodness; therefore we may be nearly certain that even if the character was phonetic (in which case there might be some sense in looking for its expression in Coptic), still *nofre* would not answer our purpose. In another way also has M. Klaproth been drawn off from the meaning of this group, by his deranging the symmetrical position of the characters, on which probably the signification of the central one in some degree depends, while he has placed *r* over it, and *i t r* on one side. However the mere circumstance of looking on the subordinate hieroglyphs here as phonetic signs, was by itself sufficient to destroy all chance of arriving at the true meaning of the group.

No. 13 is evidently, by its five units, identified with the ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε of the Greek; but M. Klaproth was mistaken in reading off the two upper characters by the words "jours, jours," as if each of them signified day. Here I may observe that it affords great help to hieroglyphic investigation to find the same character in two combinations whose collective meanings are known, and are different from each other; for then the separate meaning of the character must be such as will be compatible with its being an ingredient of both the known complex ideas: and if it be found in a third known combination where the signification already got will not answer, we have a new limiting circumstance which will enable us, by a similar process, to fix with still greater precision the thought which is by it expressed. In the present instance the character marked *h* is also one of the two whose combination in group 5 indicates "glory;" and the days here mentioned being holy days include the notion of "festivity," of which and of glory "joy" may be conceived a common ingredient, or at least a common accompaniment. I should therefore read group 13, "during joy-days

five;" the Greek and context both warranting the introduction here of the preposition, though not expressed in the hieroglyphic group.

M. Klaproth has appropriated *στεφανηφορησουσιν* to group 15, but it shall presently be shown that it is the Greek reading of 14 and 15 combined. He very candidly acknowledges that the French reading of the characters here, *r i s n*, has no conceivable connexion with the Coptic for *couronne*; he ought however to have looked for that not simply of *couronne*, but of *couronne de branches, ou de fleurs*; and if he had found it, he assuredly would have lit upon a word just as irreconcilable with the *r i s n* as either of the two produced by him, if it should happen to be different from them both. In No. 16, "panegyrie," the reading given for the principal character, is correct; which M. Champollion took, though, as usual, without any acknowledgement, from the treatise of Dr. Young, where it will be found expressed by the less learned but equivalent word "assembly," in article No. 146. This reading is warranted by the first part of the compound word *συντελοῦντες*; of which the remainder is the reading of Nos. 9 and 10 combined, as shall be presently shown. The character in 16 which is, according to the French theory, an *s*, denotes "great," and therefore we know through Plutarch that the Egyptians read it here *os*, the very articulate sound by which they read this same character at the end of Ptolemy's name; and yet the use of it in the two places is essentially different, being in the former instance ideographic, and conveying to us a significant word, but in the latter phonetic, and producing only a syllable that taken by itself is totally unmeaning.

No. 17 is considered by M. Klaproth as simply a mark of the plural number, no way differing, in what it expresses, from the three little lines on either side of the figure in No. 40. But the probability is that it signifies something more, and Dr. Young found reason, from the enchorial corresponding to it in group 55, to include in its meaning the idea of "honourable." In support of his opinion it may be observed that honour

was expressed in Coptic, and therefore probably in the mother tongue by the word ωοϣ, *Oou*. If then the character at the top of the group in question represented this idea, the ancient Egyptian would have read it *Oou*, which would exactly account for the power with which it is known that he used it in his phonetic system, namely, that of an open *o* or *u*. But whatever may be the signification of this character, it is at all events certain that the French school is unwarranted in assuming the group to which it here belongs, to be a modificatory one, as expressive of the plural number, and at the same time to be phonetic. For it has been already shown highly probable from analogy that where a writer employs both ideagraphic and phonetic signs, he will indicate the modifications of his expressions by means of that kind of writing to which he is more habituated; and from the same general principle has also been deduced the likelihood that in the old Egyptian language there was no change in the termination of its words on account of grammatical inflexions. Such changes indeed may be observed in the Coptic, but they are deviations from the general rule, and therefore may be fairly considered as not belonging to the parent tongue, but as springing from the engrafture upon it of Greek, and subsequently of Arabic. Of the regular formation of the plural number, M. Klaproth has given us an example in this very analysis in the Coptic for "good," of which the singular is ϩοϣϣε, *nofre*, and the plural ϩεϣοϣϣε, *netofre*: and in like manner every other kind of inflexion, when regular, is made in this language at the beginning, and not at the end of each word. So that the great probability is, that as in Chinese all the terms are said to be indeclinable and uninflected at either extremity, they were similarly circumstanced in the ancient Egyptian with respect to their terminations. I grant that caprice and fancy appear to have had great influence in the formation both of hieroglyphs and of language, and that consequently analogy cannot be here depended on as a certain guide; but this surely affords no ground whatever for going in direct opposition to her dictates. The rational mode of proceeding then is, to con-

sider all hieroglyphic modificatory signs as ideagraphic, until the reverse is made out by actual proof; which certainly has not as yet been done in any one instance. As to the connecting signs, the same objections do not hold against their being phonetic, and it is possible that some of them in this inscription may be such: but it is very immaterial to the investigation to determine whether they are so or not. The main point, with respect to them, is to ascertain, if possible, by the Greek or the context, the meanings which each of them may have, and to retain in memory those meanings, without troubling ourselves with inquiring whether they are ideagraphically or phonetically expressed. Some of them, however, if it was of any consequence, might be shown almost to a certainty to be ideagraphic. Thus for instance, No. 21, which is known by the Greek here, and by the context in several places, to denote the conjunction "and," is assumed in the French system to express phonetically ⲉⲓ , *hi*; which was the Coptic, and very probably the old Egyptian word of this meaning. But it has been already proved extremely unlikely that there was any character of *h* power among the Egyptian hieroglyphs; and the extended arm, when used phonetically, denoted not an *i*, but an *a* or *ē*. How the group could ideagraphically yield the assigned meaning shall be presently explained.

The circle of group 29 is given by M. Klaproth the same as it appears in 62; in which he certainly was right as to the original shape of the character; but I have drawn it exactly according to the British engraving. The internal lines in this instance must have been worn out of the stone through age. M. Champollion's reading of the character, "terre, contrée," as here quoted, is right; but it is taken from article 80 of Dr. Young's treatise. From M. Klaproth's note upon the cartouche in No. 30, it is plain that he thought it had some reference to the *προσαγορε...* or *ὀνόμασιν* of the Greek; but it occurs in exactly the same combination, No. 62, where there is no room for supposing any such reference, and in all probability it denotes that the characters connected with it express a proper name,

which name the context shows, must be that of Egypt. This combination, formed of the whole of 30 and the two lower characters of 29, may be *spelled*,^a “the land of joy and of power singularly connected (or each of these characters being connected) with the name:” but it was read by the Egyptian by the spoken name which he gave his country—a name which is now utterly lost, because through national prejudice he would not avail himself of the phonetic method of expressing it. We cannot depend on the names given to this country by foreigners, because the “Egypt” of the Greeks and the “Misraim” of the Jews, being totally unlike each other, cannot be looked on as the foreign imitations of a common word. Neither can we depend on the Coptic name $\chi\eta\mu\iota$, *khēmi*; for this signifying the land of $\kappa\eta\mu$, *kham*, seems to have been formed by Christian converts in adaptation to the Bible History, and is not at all likely to have been the old Pagan denomination. The proper national name then of the Egyptian is now as completely extinct as is his race. Nothing surely could more strongly illustrate the prodigious inferiority of the old ideagraphic method of expressing names.

There is something very curious in the connecting sign inside this combination being marked in the singular number, while the connecting group just preceding is put in the plural. The force of the former qualification is shown by the Greek for it in No. 64, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega$, to be distributive, indicating that each and every preceding sign of the combination is to be connected with the name. The context shows that the force of the latter one is to make the connexion collective. For it cannot be said that any one of the temples is in each of the parts of Egypt; but it may, that the several parts of the one collection are to be found within the whole of the other. There is, I admit, something partitive in this connexion also; but the notion of col-

^a The word is here used in a figurative sense, to express the elementary reading of a beginner dwelling on each separate character, instead of looking to the collective meaning of the combinations.

lectiveness which besides enters it, sufficiently distinguishes it from the former one. To this *m r i* of the French No. 61 is exactly an equivalent group, similarly placed with respect to Egypt; and, as they both denote immediately *perforations* or passages through *space*, they may both of them be spelled “the throughouts,” and thence read, “throughout all the different parts of.” No. 68 presents the same combination in the singular number, the force of which number is there very intelligible, for the context permits our reading that group, “wherever, or in whatever single place.” Dr. Young read the singular combination rightly, and yet the plural one wrongly, assigning, most unaccountably, to No. 63 the signification which he ought to have given to 61; as may be seen in his analysis. With respect to 63, we are not assisted to the determination of its meaning by finding it also in the first line at 31, because the context is the same in both places: it may possibly denote “population,” and then the groups 29, 30, and 31, taken together, might be read, “throughout all the different parts of Egypt’s population.” But until 31 be found in some other place of different context, this reading of it can only be considered as conjectural.

M. Klaproth has exhibited the upper character on the left side in No. 33 as a triangle, and marked it as *k*. He has left out altogether the prop under the axe in 34; which, however, appears from the Greek to have a very intelligible meaning: for it is there stated that the persons celebrating the festival, in conformity with the decree, should be called “..... *and* priests of the God Epiphanes.” The conjunction here evidently points out that there was some other name in the last part of the Greek which was also to be given to them; which the hieroglyph in question makes it likely to have been “the prop or support of this same god.” Group 37 is made by M. Klaproth the same as 35 or 5. These last three instances show that he must have taken the characters from a very inaccurate copy of the inscription. He makes group 41 a modificatory sign, and yet phonetic, in direct opposition to what analogy teaches, both with respect

to writing in general, and the ancient Egyptian language in particular. However he very candidly acknowledges, that the *n s n i* characters here have no conceivable connexion with the Coptic inflexion of the same meaning as that which is attributed to them. In the page preceding his analysis he admits the impossibility of making out of the hieroglyphs of this line, or of any other in the inscription, Coptic words of the same meaning with the Greek: whence he justly infers that the signification of those hieroglyphs is not yet exactly ascertained; but he might have gone further, and drawn the conclusion, that the theory attributing to those characters the immediate expression of Coptic or Egyptian words was altogether wrong. In the entire analysis there is not, with the exception of Ptolemy's name, a single signification rightly determined that is not ideagraphic; and all these may be found in Dr. Young's treatise, published in the year 1819.

I now proceed to the examination of the English analysis, and shall treat it with exactly the same freedom as I did the French one. Here may be observed much that is ingenious, and at the same time much that is wrong. I have already noticed the inconsistency of Dr. Young in assigning totally different meanings to 61 and 68, two groups that are identical in their principal ingredients; as also the error and confusion of attributing to 63 the signification which, on the principles he himself discovered, ought to have been appropriated to 61: and I have no doubt that these and other such inaccuracies, together with his inability to explain the combinations equivalent to verbs, lowered the credit of the ideagraphic system, and induced the French school to try the investigation in a different track. His mode of expressing himself has also contributed to this result; for although he rightly considered the characters of the general text as ideagraphic, yet he often speaks of them as if they were phonetic; for instance, in the very beginning of this analysis he talks of hieroglyphs being combined together so as to form a language.

I am indebted to Dr. Young for the idea of bringing

together the bottom lines of the three kinds of writing, but I have improved upon his plan by the collocation which I have given to the parts of the two subsidiary lines. And though I scarcely know any thing of the enchorial writing, yet simply by means of this collocation I have been enabled to correct three errors of his, and one of them—a very remarkable one—actually in the enchorial line itself. The first of these errors occurs at the very commencement of Dr. Young's analysis, where he appropriates the *στερεοῦ λίθου* to group 50. But it will be presently seen that No. 50 includes the idea of action, so cannot be the combination here sought for; besides the collocation of the enchorial shows that it is to the right of 49 that we have to look for the expression of "stone." Now 48 is equivalent to a verb, and 44, 45, to a verbal noun, as will be presently seen; while 47 denotes intimate or distributive connexion with every part of the column 49. The only group therefore left to correspond with the above Greek is No. 46; and of this, the bottom character, the sphere, is well suited to represent the primary attributes of strength and solidity, which are denoted by *στερεός*, and thence the derivative one of hardness, which is, in like manner, implied in the Greek term. If the little figure over the sphere were an arch, this also would be an appropriate sign of strength; but I believe the Egyptians were not aware of the use of arches in building, and besides a straight line of the same length very frequently occurs among the hieroglyphs as a mark of connexion. The great probability therefore is, that the line here was the one in common use, altered a little in its appearance by the decay of time; and that it served to connect the sphere with the top character of the group. Thus we are conducted to the hieroglyph which, as being the only remaining one of the passage, we may be nearly certain from the Greek, was employed to denote the idea of stone. Why the figure should have been so applied, it is now unnecessary to inquire, and impossible to ascertain: it is sufficient for us to know this was actually the signification attached to the emblem by the Egyptian; and that it had reference only to the material of which the mo-

nument consisted, and not to its shape; for the compound notion of both properties was particularly expressed in the present instance by another hieroglyph, viz. by No. 49. At the same time it may be observed, that in the enchorial line a common character is employed in the places corresponding to 46 and 49 (seemingly an imitation of the former hieroglyph); and consequently that there is an ambiguity in its meaning, which may be represented by that of its equivalent in the expression, "a stone of hard stone."

The upper figure of 53, which Dr. Young calls a ladder, is evidently, from its signification of "country," intended for a row of fields. In the article to which he refers for his analysis of 54, he endeavours to prove the group phonetic; and certainly if we could expect to find a phonetic combination of hieroglyphs any where in the general text, outside the cartouches, it would be in the expression of a foreign name. The article is as follows: "The word *Greek*, in Coptic *Uinin* or *Oueinin*, in Thebaic *Oueeienin*, supposed to have been derived from *Ionian*, seems to exhibit in its form something like an imitation of the sound. The curl on a stem is sometimes exchanged for the term *divine*, and appears to mean "glory," in Coptic *oou*, or *ouü*, which is nearly the sound attributed by Akerblad to the enchorial character, a little like the Hebrew *u*; the feathers, as in Ptolemy and Berenice, may be read *i* or *ei*, having the three dashes to express them, as usual, in the enchorial text; the serpent is *Eneh*, "ever;" and the hat, which looks a little like a plough, is equivalent to the waved line, and must be read *n*; so that we have very accurately *Ouienehn*, which seems to be near enough to *Oueinin*, to justify us in considering these characters as phonetic." This is all very ingenious, but it will not bear the test of examination, as it is full of unfounded assumptions; of which, in fact, it presents as many specimens as are to be found in the generality of M. Champollion's arguments. The leading character may very probably have the meaning here attributed to it, because the enchorial one below it generally corresponds with the axe, which is the emblem of deity. But supposing this

hieroglyph to denote *divine* ; how does it thence follow that it should denote “glory,” which Dr. Young himself elsewhere found to be the meaning of its upper part separately? Had he indeed confined his reasoning on the character to that part, he would have discovered for what he called “the curl,” a phonetic power which has been since completely established, by the use found to have been made of it in the designation of Roman names and titles. Here, however, he had to deal with a compound hieroglyph, of which this little figure was merely an ingredient, and he endeavoured to extend to “the curl upon a stem” a power that belonged to the curl alone ; in which effort he certainly was not warranted. Neither was he enabled to make good his way to the sound of *oou* or *ouï* for the entire compound by an imagined resemblance of the corresponding enchorial to the Hebrew *waw* ; for this letter had an entirely different shape at the date of the Rosetta inscription ; and besides there is no ground whatever for supposing that the Egyptians derived the phonetic powers of any of their characters from the Hebrew alphabet ; but, on the contrary, there are strong objections to such a supposition, as shall be shown at the close of the next chapter. But what is still more adverse to the truth of his conclusion than our ignorance of any phonetic power of the first hieroglyph, is our knowledge of that belonging to the third, namely, the serpent ; which is ascertained, when phonetically used, to be equivalent, not to *Eneh*, as is here assumed, but to some syllable of which the consonantal part is *t*. Besides it is very doubtful that the little figure under the serpent is the same as that at the commencement of group 53, and has in consequence the same phonetic power : certainly it appears in one respect very little suited for a hat, in as much as it has nothing to cover the head. The only character then that can be proved ever to have the power here attributed to it, is the pair of feathers : whatever else is known about the group is opposed to Dr. Young’s phonetic explanation. But an ideagraphic analysis of the same group may be made with some probability as follows. The serpent with the little figure connected to it in 54, and the

row of fields in 53, correspond in position, and consequently in meaning, with two enchorial characters which closely resemble each other. If then the enchorials be—as they most probably are—equivalent in signification, the hieroglyphs must likewise be equivalent; and the serpent with the little figure under it will denote country. Thus the entire group will express, “divine honoured country,”—not an unlikely characteristic description to be given of Greece by a people who were at the time under Grecian dominion.

It is very possible that Dr. Young’s explanation of 55 may be right; but there are not *data* sufficient for determining the point, until the context of the place in fifth line, where the same character occurs, be examined after the manner here pursued. With respect to 56 and 57, he rightly perceived that the idea of “a decree” was included in those combinations, but he totally failed in their analysis, as shall be presently shown. The figure in 58 and 48, which he calls a fork or ladder, has strong cross bars to it in the 13th line of the inscription, though they are worn out of it here; and had a pulley been placed on the middle of any bar, as its plane would pass through the eye of the spectator, it would, *a fortiori*, be worn out of the stone. From the Greek of 58 and the context in 48 and other places of the inscription, it is certain that this character, before its mutilation, represented some machine for elevating and erecting heavy bodies; and though it may be hard to conceive its fitness for such use, yet of the use itself to which it was applied, there cannot be the least doubt. If a rope over the pulley was pulled by the workmen at the same angle to the horizon on the one side as it was stretched by the heavy body on the other, it would keep the machine steady in its position, and make it afford all the advantages of a fixed pulley. However it is quite immaterial to the investigation before us in what manner this instrument was used; all that is necessary to be known is, that it was in some way or other an elevating machine. The following is the article of Dr. Young’s treatise to which he refers for his analysis of the two groups in which this character appears in the

last line : “ A form like a ladder, supported by a stem, occurs sometimes as a part of a head-dress, but it is difficult to say if it represents any other object. Followed by an arm and a pair of legs, it signifies *set up*, and this combination of characters is of very frequent occurrence ; sometimes also the bent line or divided shaft forms a part of it. In Coptic *set up* is expressed by *set on foot*, which seems to retain the analogy of the hieroglyphical character. The substitution of a pair of feathers for the legs, however, does not appear materially to alter the sense ; the context, where it occurs, requiring the word *prepare* or *construct*.” Of the third modification of the group here alluded to, I have given at the bottom of my chart an instance from the sixth line, where it is placed immediately before the statue of king Ptolemy. What Dr. Young calls the bent line and the divided shaft, were two forms of the Egyptian sceptre, of which the latter is presented in this example. From his analysis it appears he thought the pair of legs had some reference to the Coptic phrase, *set on foot* ; and thus his knowledge of the Coptic proved not merely useless to him, but positively mischievous ; as it drew off his attention from the true nature of the hieroglyphic expression, to which he might otherwise have been led by the comparison he made between its different modifications.

The little serpent at the bottom of 58, which Dr. Young rightly read by the word “ it,” has horns in several other parts of the inscription, though worn off here ; so that in its un-mutilated state a resemblance to it may be observed not only in the enchorial character underneath, which is like a *y*, but also in the Coptic letter *ϣ*, of *f* power ; and the Coptic for “ him” or “ it” being represented by means of this same *ϣ* (generally used in this sense as a prefix between a preformative and the root) ; the combination of the two circumstances is considered to afford a sufficient proof that the ancient reader made a phonetic use of the hieroglyph in question, employing it with *f* power. But there is a confusion of thought in this reasoning, which has led to a wrong inference. It may indeed be admitted highly probable that, as the Coptic pronoun was short, and of frequent oc-

currence, it was not different from what it had been in the parent language; and that the horned serpent denoting a reference to some person or thing previously described, the ancient Egyptian read it by the same articulate sound as that of which the above-mentioned prefix, in the correspondent case, was made the consonantal element. But this is an instance of an ideographic, not of a phonetic, use of the character, which is here employed immediately to denote an idea of reference; and although it ultimately expresses a sound, still it does so only through the intervention of that idea. From the circumstances then, which have been alluded to, no inference can be drawn with respect to the phonetic practice of the Egyptian, but only one regarding the alphabetic system of the Copt; of which it may be asserted as likely, that the letter in it called *Fei*, was derived from the little serpent under consideration; since these two characters have some resemblance in shape, and may have occasionally corresponded in the sounds to which they were referred, though not at all as far as has been yet ascertained, in the powers with which they were used. *ϣ* is the only letter of the Coptic alphabet which I have been able to trace with any probability to a hieroglyphic origin; and even this one has not an exclusive property in the power assigned to it, as there is in the alphabet another letter of the same power which is obviously of Greek extraction.

In 68 there is no expression for “shall be,” as Dr. Young has very justly observed: and the omission deserves to be noticed, as affording a striking instance of the defectiveness of hieroglyphic writing even in this specimen of it, which probably exhibits the art in the highest state of perfection to which it ever attained in Egypt. The figure of the royal statue in 69 shows that the sceptre most commonly delineated among the hieroglyphs was the full height of a man; while the one represented in 71 was evidently, from the place of its handle, but half that height. This circumstance, I conceive, accounts with some probability for the meaning attached to the former sceptre; which was “great” in comparison with the latter.

A close inspection of the characters at the end of the enchorial line will serve to show that they are an imitation of the sacred ones directly over them, and therefore were applied to the same immediate signification of "ever-living" and "beloved by Phthah." The horizontal open loop and line at right angles to it, sufficiently correspond with the loop and transverse bar of the handled cross. Then comes evidently the serpent, with a little oblique line corresponding to the horizontal one above, and therefore serving to connect the two primary characters, i. e. the serpent and the cross, into the first compound expression. The subordinate modifying signs at the beginning of the second are left out, but the leading one of love is obviously imitated by the upright line, which exactly corresponds in position with the chain; and the curved line following with the dash across it, answers to the curve of the plough and one of its cross bars; while the two feathers, which though primary characters, are less essential to the group than the others of the same class, are merely expressed by two dashes across the final line; and this line itself is, on account of its being placed at the very end of the entire document, made fuller and more flourishing than the angular mark which in other positions is employed in the enchorial writing to express the cartouche. Of the subordinate signs, that of connexion is given; and that the others are not essential is evident, since the semicircles are frequently omitted in hieroglyphic combinations, where the context would in strictness require them in the sense to which they are here among the sacred characters applied; and the little square has in the Greek reading of the group no word corresponding to its ideographic signification. Nothing essential then is left out, and of the more important primary characters as close a running-hand imitation is presented to us as can be found in any other part of the line; while here we have a whole connected train of such imitations, and only detached ones elsewhere. However the identification of the meaning of these sacred and enchorial groups does not rest solely on the correspondence which can be traced between their component ingredients: a very strong

additional reason for it shall be produced in the following chapter.

I shall conclude the present chapter with an effort to point out and determine the hieroglyphic method of representing those modifications of thought, the words for which are called verbs. And I shall take the liberty, with respect to the ideographic combinations which are equivalent in signification to verbs, nouns, and verbal nouns, of applying to them for the present those grammatic denominations. This mode of expression is, I admit, not strictly accurate, but it is shorter than any correct one, and more likely to be easily understood by persons who are not familiar with ideographic writing; while the notice here given will, I hope, prevent any confusion or mistake from being produced by the abbreviations. The hieroglyphic verb then, will be found to consist of two very distinct characters or groups, of which that which generally precedes is a noun descriptive of the particular nature of the action under consideration, by exhibiting some visible object immediately connected with that action, as for instance, the agent, or the instrument, or an effect, or some concomitant circumstance. The second character or group expresses a modification of action in general, either by a combination in which power, the source of action, is the principal ingredient; or by our natural and immediate means of action, the human limbs. In this latter mode of designation the extended arm is most frequently employed, but if the action requires much exertion the under limbs are added; and if it be one of particular difficulty, or if complete accomplishment of it is to be expressed, then both methods of designation are combined, and the emblem of power is found for such purpose united with both the arm and legs. Thus the integral verb consists of two parts, namely, of a simple verb, preceded by a descriptive noun limiting it to that particular kind of action which is intended to be expressed. And the nature of the action is also at times still further particularized, by the introduction of some qualifying sign into the composition of the simple verb. With respect to the verbal noun, it is represented in

just an analogous manner, by a descriptive noun followed by an expression for the general idea of action; and the only difference is, that this modification of the idea is denoted by the whole human figure, instead of by one or more of the limbs. Sometimes a verbal noun is itself employed as the descriptive noun of a verb, and then we have in the same integral verb three ingredients: 1. a descriptive noun; 2. an expression for the general notion of action in that state of the thought in which it would be signified in language by a noun; and, 3. an expression for the same notion in that state in which it would be signified by a verb. These views will be more easily understood, and their agreement with the real state of the case more readily ascertained, by an immediate application of them to the chart; and the most natural way in which I can explain and establish them is by detailing the successive steps of the investigation by which they were at first disclosed.

The Greek verb *ἱερατεύουσι* not having been as yet appropriated to any part of the first hieroglyphic line, I ventured to place it in immediate connexion with groups 40 and 41. M. Klaproth has given us a translation of it, “sont consacrés;” which corresponds well enough to the meaning of the Greek alone, but not to that of hieroglyphs and Greek combined. A comparison of 40 and 41 to 26 and its Greek will show, that the meaning which the two former groups and the subjacent word admit in common, must be, “they act the priest.” But 40 represents “the priest,” 41 therefore must signify “they act.” What confirms this interpretation is, that 15—where there is undoubtedly another verb—is analogous in its composition to 41; and that 14 admits of a signification in reference to 15 and *στεφανηφορήσουσιν*, exactly corresponding to that of 40 in relation to 41 and *ἱερατεύουσι*. For the under figure of 14 may very well be the delineation of a garland, while the upper one is known from 65, 66, 67, to denote merely the order or rank of that garland; 14 and 15 therefore may be spelled, in conformity with the Greek, “they will act with garlands,” or, “they will garlandize;” whence 15 alone must signify “they will act.”

In 33 there is a third modification of the simple verb "to act," which is in the singular number; as it has not the three units placed in a vertical line which appear in both 15 and 41. The characters common to the three groups are what the French call *s n i*, which indeed are not exactly in the same order in the three; but that causes no difference in ideagraphic combinations. The figures *s n i* therefore express action, while its difference of modification in the three groups must be denoted by the difference in their remaining signs. But the only leading sign in the combination *s n i* is the sceptre, which is an emblem of power; and this again is the source from which all action flows. It is hard to conceive how the Egyptians could have arrived at the expression of the simple verb by means of so abstract a thought as that of power. Yet I confess I do not see how the evidence which has been just produced as to that fact can be resisted. However the determination of the point is not essential to the investigation before us; for, in the first instance, it will be quite sufficient to remember that the combination *s n i* denotes action, without troubling ourselves about the decomposition of its parts; to which it will be time enough to revert, after the analysis of the entire inscription shall have been completed upon this less rigorous plan.

But the natural, and probably the older, method of representing action in that part of the integral verb which I have called the simple verb, was by one or more limbs of the human body. The simplest specimen of this method will be found in 21, where each part of the integral verb consists of only one character, and the two characters are combined in one group. The simple verb here is merely an extended arm, while the descriptive noun is a chain or instrument of junction; and the combination is in the imperative mood, directing the reader to unite together the preceding and following passages, which was done accordingly by reading the group by the Greek conjunction *καὶ*.

Groups 8, 9, 10, 11 present to us a very remarkable example of this method, in which the descriptive noun appears at both

sides of the simple verb. Fortunately the corresponding Greek is perfect, in consequence of which this peculiarity can be accounted for, and the analysis of the whole be determined, to a complete certainty. The Greek reading of the passage is, *συντελοῦντες θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ τ' ἄλλα τὰ καθήκοντα*; of which the first syllable has a reference to No. 16, and the remainder may be translated, "making sacrifices and libations, and doing the other suitable things." Now the simple verb here is the extended arm of No. 9, the bird under which is the same as that in 59, where it is certain, from the context, that it denotes the preposition "in;" and if we attribute the same meaning (without troubling ourselves about its origin) to the character in the group before us, it will have the effect of changing the simple verb into the participial form, "in acting," and make it so far correspond with the Greek or English reading of the passage. Group 9, therefore, combined with the descriptive noun 8, signifies "in garlandizing." But this alone cannot be made to tally with either reading; because the Greek of 14, 15, shows us that mere "garlandizing" means "wearing a garland," which signification would not at all answer here. Some qualification therefore must be added to the whole hieroglyphic verb, to render it capable of the meaning here assigned to it, as for instance, that of goodness, or piety, or religion; and accordingly we find here connected with it a character (No. 10) which, if not the same, is at least cognate in shape with No. 12, well known to be in general a sign of goodness, though in particular places the context may give it a different meaning. Thus it is ascertained from the Greek that, while the ancient hieroglyphist expressed "wearing a garland" by a combination of signs, in strictness of interpretation equivalent to "garlandizing," he denoted "making sacrifices and libations" by one tantamount to "piously garlandizing." But how did he convey the meaning denoted by the rest of the Greek reading, "and doing the other suitable things?" Simply by repeating the same descriptive noun on the other side of the same qualified verb. The strict analysis of the sacred characters and of the

Greek, compared with the nature of the integral verb, leaves not a shadow of doubt that this is the true force and meaning of the peculiarity, here examined, of placing the descriptive noun on both sides of the simple verb. As to the difference in shape of the garland in 14, from what it appears in 8 and 11, that may be naturally accounted for, either by the desire of the insculptor to make it, together with the character above it, not too high for ranging with the rest of the line; or by his intention of delineating the particular kind of garland that was to be worn, as the rank attached to this ornament may have depended on the angle in which the branches of flowers were inclined to the lower part of the wreath.

The investigation gone through in the last paragraph deserves some attention, as it affords, if I mistake not, a deeper insight into the nature and style of hieroglyphic expressions than has been hitherto attained; and by showing how exceedingly vague and indeterminate those expressions are, points out the vast inferiority of ideagraphy in comparison with alphabetic writing. The subject also affords an interesting specimen of the ingenuity of the human mind, in contriving expedients for the signification of its thoughts under every disadvantage of method.

As I have now spelled all the groups from 7 to 17 inclusive, I shall give the reading of them, marking in Italics as much of it as has been determined with complete certainty. "*From the first day of the first month of every year, in making sacrifices and libations, and in doing the other suitable things; from the first day of the initial month of the year, during five holy days, shall the great assemblies of men, divine, honourable, wear garlands of a certain rank and order* herein delineated." This, I will venture to affirm, is the first series of hieroglyphs expressing a connected sentence, that has been yet deciphered. Dr. Young discovered only the simpler form of the noun; and the French, although they have had the advantage of his treatise for fifteen years, have not, with respect to the general text outside the cartouches, advanced the investigation a single step be-

yond the state in which he left it. At the same time I feel it due to the penetrating genius of that people to state my conviction, that if the learned among them, engaged in this study, had pursued the right track, they would have long since succeeded in the complete deciphering of the Rosetta inscription.

A comparison of groups 48, 58, and 78, will serve to account for variations in the natural method of expressing action by the human limbs, and for the combination of the natural and metaphysical methods. In all these the descriptive noun is an elevating machine of some kind or other, and consequently the signification common to the three integral verbs is that of "raising." In 48, where the simple verb consists only of the extended arm, qualified by the feathers, which are a sign of honour or respect, nothing more is expressed than "the raising respectfully" the column. But in 58, where the under limbs are joined to the arm, something requiring more exertion is signified, and it is ordered "to raise to an erect posture" this same column, or, according to the Greek, to make it stand. In 78 the employment of a still higher degree of energy is expressed by combining the natural immediate instruments of action with its metaphysical source; and if we look for the reason of this, we shall find it in the context; for it is in the sixth line, immediately before the statue of king Ptolemy, that the expression occurs, and its fulness and force may be accounted for, by the dignity of the object to be raised; or by its weight; or by the circumstance of its being intended to denote that it was to be completely erected on its pedestal; or perhaps by a combination of all these reasons.

A comparison of 32 and 56 will show the nature of the verbal noun. In both places the context requires the expression of a "decree;" and the simple verb immediately following each expression indicates that "decree" is changed into "it is decreed." Let us now inquire how the signification of decree can be made out of the groups in question. The bowl in 32 has been already proved to denote sovereign authority, and the bird (which is a different one from those in 9 and 59) not being

common to the two groups, is not an essential ingredient of the expression: it is generally interpreted as "what is elevated or noble," which attribute will apply well enough to the meaning of the character above it. But "noble sovereignty" is not sufficient to make the notion of a "decree;" we must therefore, for the completion of the complex idea, turn to the human figure; and if this denoted "exertion," then "exertion of high sovereign authority" may be conceived sufficiently to agree with the meaning required. In 56 the sovereign authority is twice expressed, and there is a twofold exertion of the double authority, or a fourfold exertion of the single one, as is marked by the four units placed under the figure expressive of exertion. According therefore to my analysis the decree is much more imperative in the latter case than in the former one. Let us then see whether the context will justify such distinction between the two cases. Now in the upper line the decree has reference only to the names that the persons performing the sacrifices, &c. &c. were to be called; but in the lower one it enforces the erection of the monument with the inscription on it, in every single place where there was a statue of king Ptolemy; which evidently was a matter of more consequence, and therefore may be very naturally conceived to have been commanded with a greater degree of strictness and force. Had the Greek expressly corroborated the inference which has been thus deduced from the context in the two places which have been compared with each other, the resulting proof would have been complete: but unfortunately part of the alphabetic writing in each place is lost; and if the chasms affect not the subject under consideration, then the introduction in the one passage of *καταχωρίσαι*, and in the other of *σπῆσαι*, in the infinitive mood, without any verb preceding either word, points out a style of omission which, while it prevents the Greek reading from bearing against my conclusion, deprives me of any express positive support from that reading. The interpretation, therefore, here advanced, is given subject to further investigation, and will be confirmed or overturned by trying how it answers in others of

the numerous passages in which the figure in question occurs. But until this figure be met in some place where the context is equally well ascertained as in the two above-mentioned, and where the meaning I have assigned to it is found inadmissible, that meaning ought to be considered as most probably correct.

Here, to guard against misconception, it may be necessary to warn the reader that I do not suppose the ancient Egyptian to have distinguished "acting" and "action" from each other in his graphic system by any reference to verbs and nouns: for such reference could be made only to words, with which hieroglyphic writing, one very limited branch of it excepted, had no immediate or necessary connexion. The modifications of thought, expressed by the above two words, differ from each other in this, that time is taken into account in the former, and not in the latter. But it is in time only that the thing thought of could have any real existence: the Egyptian, therefore, may perhaps have associated with the latter modification some such idea as that of abeyance or inertness, and thence have been led to employ the sitting posture of the human figure, in comparison with which the delineation of even a single limb was more expressive of actual exertion. In the barbarous language of the school-men there was a distinction made between "actus in esse" and "actus in potentia," which is perhaps more applicable to this point than to the one which it was originally intended to illustrate. However it is now impossible to determine with any certainty the precise ground of the strange turn of thought displayed in graphically representing action by an agent in very nearly a state of inaction: and it is useless to inquire into the subject further than may be requisite for removing notions positively wrong respecting it. The question about the sitting figure, which is material to hieroglyphic investigation, is, "what was the sense in which it was employed," and not, "why it was so employed."

The only other place in the chart in which this figure occurs is at No. 45. But the context is there unknown, and consequently no inference can be derived from the place, either for or

against the meaning already made out for the character. The first hieroglyph in 44 appears to be the same as, or cognate to, the first in 54, which, from its correspondence with the enchorial axe, must denote some idea connected with divinity. The combination therefore of groups 44, 45, may perhaps denote "deification." But since the descriptive noun can be connected with the action in a great variety of ways, some of which bear very remotely on the subject described, as was strongly instanced in the case of Nos. 8 and 11, it is evident that without the aid of the context, or of some external source of information, the meaning cannot be accurately determined of either the above combination or of any other similarly formed. The circuitous mode of expression which has been just described, appears to have been used by the Egyptian chiefly from necessity: for where the immediate effect of the action is a visible object, we often find a simple hieroglyphic noun instead of the compound one. Thus group 50 presents two instances of verbal nouns consisting of single characters; for "incision" or "insculpture" is denoted by the little hole an insculping tool would make, which is put in the plural number by the two units connected with it; and "construction" is represented by a figure which is known to be that of a house, as it is exactly the same as may be seen in groups 28 and 60, in both which places the context requires "temples" or "houses of worship." As I have gone so far in the analysis of this group I may as well finish it. "Construction," then, is changed by the extended arm into "construct," and this again, by the semicircle underneath, into "constructed." The usual power of this last figure has been already shown to be that of changing an expression from an abstract to a concrete form, but here, where it is immediately combined with action, it appears to exert an influence analogous to that of changing a verb from the active to the passive voice; which however cannot be considered certain till it is found in other places similarly combined, where it will admit of the same signification. The wavy line at the top of the group expresses connexion, and the entire may be read, "with insculptures con-

structed or put together;" after which immediately follows, "in Sacred and Enchorial and Greek characters."

The last group which I shall analyze is No. 69; and I advert to it because it presents a new form of the simple verb, as well as a new way of expressing the passive voice. The action here exerted is of an energetic species, coming under the head of labour, and yet not requiring the whole force of the body, so the under limbs are not brought into the expression; but instead of the one arm extended, we have the two bent in the way in which they may have been employed in this kind of action; and the descriptive noun is the chisel or instrument with which the statue was hewed out. But what I wish particularly to point attention to is the mouth or open hole, for which the composition of the complex idea here expressed requires a new signification, and consequently, according to the method of investigation which I am pursuing, an opportunity is thus afforded of testing the correctness of the general meaning already assigned to the character. The ground for concluding that meaning rightly determined will be strengthened, if it be found to embrace the additional signification; but if it does not, we must look for a still more general sense extending to the new case as well as to those previously considered. The trial, however, will tend to confirm the meaning already arrived at, viz. that of a hole or passage; for thence the character denoted, in combination with space, "in" or "through;" and, in combination with time, "commencing" or "during;" so in like manner it ought, when combined with action, to express "instrumentality" or "means;" and this idea will be found strictly to answer as an ingredient of the complex notion of a royal statue of marble which is denoted by the group before us. For if for the present we leave out of consideration the intermediate signs, which are less essential, and combine the figure holding the great sceptre with the integral verb and the character in question; we shall get expressed, "the royal figure through means of chiselling out," or, "the royal figure that is chiselled out;" either of which descriptions, as far as it goes, evidently agrees

with the above-mentioned notion. As the power of this character is now well ascertained, it may be worth while to notice the effect produced by combining it with action. The present example then shows that effect to be the changing the verb into a participle, or changing it from the active to the passive voice. Either alteration is here compatible with the sense; but in places where that is not the case, the context must determine which of them has been produced. The former effect can be easily conceived, for in our own language the preposition "through," which corresponds with the general meaning of the character, exerts exactly the same influence on any verb with which it may be connected; and the Greek reading of group No. 9 proves that another character, analogous to this one in being equivalent to a preposition, had also that very influence. Of the latter effect we have an instance in group 57, which changes "decree" into "is decreed," where the context evidently requires the passive voice; and accordingly there may be seen there combined with the simple verb, both the character now under consideration, and the one which was in last paragraph shown, when thus placed, to have the same power.

With respect to the number of grammatical terms here introduced, I admit that they are used by me only in a figurative sense; and that I have adopted them from a desire to avoid circumlocution or the framing of new words, rather than with a view to strict correctness of expression. In strictness grammar is no more applicable to hieroglyphic writing than it is to a historic picture. In the painting, it is true, the signs of the relative circumstances of the agents and of the various modes of action in which they are engaged, are all natural; while most of those employed in the writing under consideration are, if not in their shape, at least in the use made of them, arbitrary: but still the two sorts of signs are essentially of the same general nature, in as much as they have the common property of immediately representing modifications of thought, and not necessarily conducting the mind to words. As soon, indeed, as a hieroglyphic record is to be read out, words are wanted; but so they are

likewise in reading out a picture, that is, in explaining the subject of it, when complicated, to a person who had never before seen it. In each case the connexion with language is only accidental, and if the explainer, in the discharge of his office, should be guilty of grammatical inaccuracies, the faults of his reading could not be charged upon the legend which he had to expound. The properties of words then, whether spoken or expressed in alphabetic writing, are not directly attributable to ideagraphic signs. Accordingly, from the examples which have been adduced in this chapter, it may be perceived that the Egyptian insculptor formed his graphic expressions for various modifications of action, connexion, &c., without any reference whatever to language; and we should bear it in mind that, in order completely to develop the meaning of those expressions, it will be necessary to pursue the inquiry in a corresponding way. Grammatical denominations therefore may possibly mislead the investigator, by drawing him off from the right track, and turning his attention too much to words; but if this evil be avoided, such denominations have the advantage of being familiar to the apprehension of an alphabetic reader; and as hieroglyphs may in a loose sense be said to denote the words and inflexions of words which are suggested by their more immediate and proper significations, the metaphor is justifiable which transfers to them names belonging to subjects with which they have this species of connexion.

But to revert to the point from which I digressed—the remainder of the analysis of group 69 can be easily completed. Of the three intermediate signs between those already examined, the sphere is applied here to the royal figure exactly as it was to the material of the column in group 46, where the Greek reading proved that it denoted strength, or solidity, or hardness, or perhaps all three combined. The figure over the sphere shows that the entire group is to be united into one compound expression; while the under one puts that expression in a concrete form; and the Egyptian read the whole by the one or

two words, denoting the complex idea in that language in which he was interpreting the hieroglyphic text.

I might now return upon the earlier parts of this analysis, and correct some of the explications already given; as for instance, in group 5, if the open hole be connected with the verb underneath, instead of with the character above, it would then indicate the active participle or the passive voice, while the simple verb in either form would receive a qualification from the nature of the limbs delineated, together with their relative position, and the top figure alone would constitute the descriptive noun. The signification of the group thus analyzed would come out, either, "glory sustaining," or "covered with glory;" the holy-days in group 13 would then be characterized, not by the joy which accompanied them, but by the glory of the individual to the celebration of whose fame they were appropriated; and glory, instead of joy, would be one of the characteristic elements in the ideagraphic name of Egypt. But at present there are not sufficient *data* established to enable me to determine, whether the character in question should be immediately connected with the top or bottom one, or in other words, whether it be part of the simple verb or of the descriptive noun; and I therefore leave this to be fixed by the aid of points, which will certainly be made out in the subsequent course of the investigation. For the same reason I abstain from completing my analysis of the first line, because I could do so only quite conjecturally; and what appears to me at present to have some probability in its favour, might in a very short time hence, when the ground is better cleared, be found as ridiculous as the signification (of *cha*, première des trois saisons de l'année) which the phonetic school has affixed to the garland, or that (of *rome*, homme) which it has attached to the sitting figure, must be now seen to be. Every additional line of the inscription that is analyzed in the manner here exemplified, will not only bring a new stock of discoveries into the general fund; but will also serve to verify or correct those already made that are at all doubtful in consequence of the Greek being either lost, or sup-

plying a reading, which, though correct, is not elementary enough for the analyst in some of the places where it is still extant. The method which has been here pointed out may be slow, but it is sure, and every step gained in advance by means of it will render the further progress of the investigation not only more easy, but also less liable to error. However a great deal remains still to be done, but as the problem is now put in a form in which it is possible to be worked, I have no doubt that persons will be found, both here and in France, who will engage in its solution. For although the object to be attained is one merely of curiosity, and not of any solid advantage to learning, yet there is a pleasure in the very pursuit of it which will afford gratification to those who may have leisure for such inquiries. For my own part there is no amusement which I would prefer to extending my chart, and continuing this little voyage of discovery; but I am called off by higher and more important occupation, which will demand all the attention I can spare to it in the subsequent parts of this work.

CHAPTER VII.

THIRD LIMITATION OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE EGYPTIAN PHONETIC SYSTEM DERIVED FROM THE IDEAGRAPHIC PARTS OF THE LATER NOM-CARTOUCHES, PARTICULARLY FROM THOSE IN THE ROSETTA INSCRIPTION—FOURTH LIMITATION, AND DETERMINATION OF THE REIGN IN WHICH THIS SYSTEM COMMENCED, DEDUCED FROM THE TABLE OF ABYDOS—DIRECT INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF ITS GRECIAN ORIGIN.

FROM the nature of the ancient Egyptian method of designation it is evident that the old ideagraphic prenom could not express any secondary or supplemental denomination. For, as it denoted immediately the idea of an individual, and only through that idea the name or names associated therewith, it could suggest to each reader no other appellation but that with which he was most familiar; and which must be in reference to his apprehension, either the principal name of the person designated, or the whole collection of his names and titles, but could not be confined specially to the representation of any subordinate one. As soon however as the prenom, still ideagraphic, became directly referrible to words, it then was capable of expressing a surname, and of being appropriated to any particular one that was previously a significant term. This change took place in consequence of the sovereigns of the Greek race having all of them the same proper name, and being thence brought under the necessity of assuming distinctive surnames. For these secondary denominations, and the ideagraphic prenoms being, both of them, characteristic, were capable of conveying corresponding descriptions; and the effect of referring a written name to the same attributes as those denoted by a spoken one was, that the former could be read into the latter, whereby it became directly connected with articulate sounds, though not quite so immediately as it would, supposing it had been phonetic. The appellation expressed was not arrived at in such instances by the

old circuitous way of proceeding from the collection of characteristic attributes to the idea of the individual, and thence again to the name associated with that idea; but by advancing at once from those attributes to the ordinary expression for their combination in the language of the reader, or in some language understood by him.

From the want of this direct reference to words in the case of the older prenoms, they were, as has been just explained, incapable of being employed to denote supplemental names. Hence it becomes necessary to make a distinction with respect to the small groups in legends 11, 16, 17, signifying "surnamed," which I could not, without too long a digression, have explained where I first had occasion to notice them. It now appears that, where they are found prefixed to the older ideagraphic denominations, they cannot be referred to secondary *verbal* names; it must therefore be to secondary *written* ones that they are there applied. M. Champollion, then, was not exactly correct in making their signification of "surnamed" equivalent to ἐπικαλούμενος; for they immediately denote, not "additionally, or otherwise called," but "otherwise written." The inaccuracy indeed is such as might be expected in an alphabetic writer, who is apt to think even to himself in words, while the ideagraphic writer, as has been already shown, is more inclined to think in written characters. However this inaccuracy did not lead to error in the particular instances M. Champollion had in view, like those above specified: for when a denomination is phonetically written, as NeOKĒSaRoS, KeRMaNIKoS, or TĒKiKoS, it is so closely connected with a spoken name, that any alteration of the former necessarily produces a corresponding alteration of the latter. But, on the other hand, ideagraphic designations may be quite different, and still, if they are descriptions of the same person, they will suggest the same verbal name. When therefore the groups in question precede such designations, M. Champollion's interpretation of their meaning will not answer. Thus, for instance, in the nom cartouche of legend No. 21, one of these groups comes between ANTONĪNoS and an

ideagraphic expression for "ever-living;" and it does not there imply that Antoninus was otherwise called "ever-living," but that his spoken name was otherwise expressed, according to the old style, by this ideagraphic combination.

On the Rosetta stone we find the name *PTOLeMÊoS* in three instances accompanied by an ideagraphic combination of just a similar nature. Sometimes indeed the phonetic denomination appears alone in the royal legend; but, wherever it is written in the more formal manner, preceded by the titles, sovereign, king, and followed by the collection of epithets, divine, glorious [*ἐπιφανής*], very gracious; there is then included in the cartouche after it the ideagraphic expression for "ever-living, beloved by Phthah." Now this combination is the name of Ptolemy written after the old fashion: it expressed immediately the personal character attributed to the monarch, and by suggesting the idea of the individual it ultimately suggested the name associated with that idea: it is not indeed, like the corresponding one in the Roman legend, expressly stated to be a name; but notwithstanding there cannot be a doubt but that being similar to the other in its ideagraphic nature, in its immediate signification, and in its position, it must have been applied to a similar use. The position of this group in the legend of the Greek sovereign particularly marks its denominative nature; for it is inside the royal cartouche, while Epiphanes is outside; it is therefore more intimately connected with the name than Epiphanes, and consequently it must be a proper name of the sovereign. But this sovereign had only one proper name, and consequently the ideagraphic group could not be intended to exhibit a second such name, but only a second way of writing Ptolemy.

I am not aware of any objection which can be made to this conclusion, except that in the Greek part of the Rosetta inscription, the group in question is interpreted according to its immediate signification, and read, not as a name, but as the personal character of "ever-living, beloved by Phthah." But this objection has been already answered: the Greek text undoubtedly

reduces the number of hieroglyphic readers in whose apprehension the group was a name, by withdrawing a certain class from that number; but with respect to the remainder, it no way affects the proof which has been given upon the subject. From combining that proof then with the evidence afforded by the Greek interpretation it appears, that at the date of the Rosetta inscription the fuller cartouches in it were read in three different ways. The person acquainted with alphabetic writing, or at least familiar with such as was phonetic, read in one of these cartouches, "PTOL^ēMĒ^oS, ever-living, beloved by Phthah," and being aware of the great superiority of the new method of designation over the old one, he considered the first group alone as the name, and the remaining combination as an appendage of that name, as a character of the individual not indicating but accompanying the proper denomination. On the other hand, the hieroglyphic reader who had not yet learned the phonetic system, passed by the first group as a foreign innovation, as a mere precursor of the name, and looked on the ideagraphic characters alone as conveying the true expression of that name; and although they suggested to him immediately the description "ever-living, beloved by Phthah," yet he read them ultimately by the word Ptolemy, in the same way as he was accustomed to read "an eye and a sceptre" by the word Osiris. In the third place, he who had learned the phonetic mode of expressing names, but was more familiar with the ideagraphic one, must have read Ptolemy in each of the combinations contained in the cartouche. Now however general the second and third ways of reading were just after the introduction of the phonetic system, yet they could not have lasted any great length of time, and with them expired the necessity for continuing the older style of writing names. The appearance therefore of the two styles in the larger cartouches of the Rosetta inscription proves very decidedly, that at the time when that inscription was made, or in the year 196 B. C., phonetic writing could not have been of great antiquity in Egypt.

In the prenom of Ptolemy Soter, and in both those of

Ptolemy Epiphanes, exhibited in legends 8, 9, 10, we find the characteristic description not confined to the attribute more particularly connected with the surname, but embracing an entire collection of them; just as in the previous application of such descriptions to the principal name, and with no other difference than what might be expected from the natural progress of the art, an increase in the number of signs employed. From this analogy between the prenoms of the Egyptian and Greek sovereigns it is probable that they were read in a similar manner; and that, as each of the former gave ultimately the expression simply of a name, so each latter one likewise gave only that of the surname which is placed at the head of the collection included within its border. Upon the same ground it will follow, that in the Rosetta inscription the collection of epithets, "divine, glorious, very gracious," accompanying the royal cartouche, was read simply by the surname Epiphanes, with which one of those epithets is more particularly connected. It is true that the Greek text, by a more elementary reading, gives the immediate, instead of the ultimate signification of the collection; but this objection may be answered, with respect to the surname, in exactly the same manner as it was with respect to the ideographic name. What increases the probability of the group in question having been read as Epiphanes, rather than as a collection of adjectives, is, that when it is separated from the royal cartouche, as it frequently is in this document, it is then used by itself as a denomination; for instance it is twice thus used to denote the sovereign in the thirteenth line of the inscription.

The frequent repetition in the Rosetta record of some denomination or other of Ptolemy is very curious. For instance in the sixth line may be seen the name written in both old and new styles, followed by the surname, and then almost immediately after, the name again in the new style, and then, with scarcely any interval, the name a third time in the new style. In this peculiarity there appears something analogous to the ceremoniousness of the Chinese: certainly no mode of expres-

sion could be more ceremonious towards the sovereign than that employed in the record in question.

The difference in the ways of expressing the surname Epiphanes in the prenoms 9, 10, and in the Rosetta inscription, is worth remarking; as it serves to illustrate the distinction between hieroglyphs and anaglyphs, or between the sacred and tropic kinds of writing, a distinction which has been already collected from the description of the matter left to us by Clemens, viz. that pictural characters or portraits were admissible into the former, but not into the latter kind. Accordingly in both the prenoms under consideration the portraits of Ammon and the God of the Sun are inserted to denote their patronage and protection of the king; but this characteristic is removed from the Rosetta anaglyphs, and in its place is substituted a tropic expression for the attribute "very gracious." Why sacred writing should be required for one of these subjects more than the other it is difficult to conceive, unless the circumstance can be accounted for by the difference of the places in which they were inscribed; as it certainly would be, if the legends to which the prenoms belonged should be found to have been appropriated solely to the walls of consecrated buildings; since on the other hand a copy of the decree, as is known from the contents of the document itself, was ordered to be exhibited wherever there should be erected a statue of king Ptolemy.

We may first observe the denomination of the old kind placed immediately under the new one in the legend of Ptolemy Soter. The prenom of this sovereign having by an improved use of ideagraphic signs been applied directly to the expression of his surname, the proper name, written in the old style, was detruded from its original place, and transferred to the bottom of the nom-cartouche, to which position it was ever after confined. This denomination of the first of the Ptolemies, which, in its immediate signification, expressed the personal character of being "beloved by Phthah," was previously the graphic name of one of the sovereigns of the Egyptian race, and has been already noticed as it appears in cartouche No. 24. An

additional proof is thus afforded of the denominative nature of such groups, for here is one of them actually occupying the entire of a nom-cartouche, and therefore necessarily by itself denoting the proper name of a king. This legend is not by any means of the oldest kind, for the principal monument on which it is found is the Flaminian obelisk, which, according to Pliny, was erected in the life-time of Pythagoras; and his testimony is corroborated by the internal evidence of the writing itself, which contains modificatory signs, and consequently must be less ancient than the prenom of Psammetichus. As the cartouche is displayed on a great number of monuments, the sovereign denoted by it must have been one of some celebrity, and a favourite in the recollection of the Egyptians; which, by the way, accounts for the fact of his legend having been adopted by Ptolemy as the representation of his own proper name after the old national style. What the spoken name of the Egyptian monarch was, is not at present known, but we may be certain it was not Ptolemy, or any word having the remotest resemblance to Ptolemy. Here then is a very marked instance of the great imperfection in the ancient mode of writing names: the group of characters, immediately denoting the attribute of being "beloved by Phthah," was applied ultimately to the expression of two verbal names that were totally different; and as it represented two, it might, for any thing a hieroglyphic reader could tell to the contrary, have represented a hundred different appellations. There could be no bounds to the confusion which in progress of time, before the introduction of phonetic writing, such a system must have produced; wherein different groups denoted the same name, and the same group different names, without any restriction as to the number or diversity of those names.

As long as this method of characteristic designation continued to be really applied to the purpose of suggesting names, there must have been, from the natural course of the process, a gradual increase in the number of descriptive attributes employed. Now such progressive increase is observable through

the whole of the Greek line of sovereigns. At the bottom of the nom-cartouche of the first of them is simply the ideagraphic expression of "beloved by Phthah;" which, when we proceed from Ptolemy Soter to Ptolemy Epiphanes, is augmented to "ever-living, beloved by Phthah;" and when we reach the last of the race, or Ptolemy Cæsarion, it is still farther augmented to "ever-living, beloved by Isis and by Phthah," as may be perceived by inspection of nom-cartouche No. 11. But thenceforward the scene is changed, and throughout the Roman legends the ideagraphic group either dwindles into a single characteristic attribute or entirely disappears. From the commencement, therefore, of the Roman dynasty this group ceased to be used as a *bona fide* indication of a name: the phonetic mode of designation was now familiar to all hieroglyphic readers; and the older mode was in part continued, not from any necessity, but merely from the policy of the Roman government to flatter in a matter of no consequence the national vanity of the Egyptians.

From this representation of the subject it may be clearly seen that the use of phonetic writing could not have been of very long standing in Egypt when the Ptolemies reigned there. I am not sure whether the double dates now observable in the dispatches of Russian generals afford strictly a parallel to this case, because they may possibly be occasioned by explanatory insertions of transcribers. But suppose that they appear in the original documents, and this fact would incontestably prove, independently of any other evidence, that the improved style of dating is at present quite a novelty in Russia. Now the *bona fide* double designation of names in the legends of the Greek sovereigns affords us just a similar proof, that at the time of their being inscribed phonetic writing was a novelty in Egypt.

The Rosetta stone assisted in the above discussion by supplying its separate evidence in proof of the ideagraphic groups at the end of the nom-cartouches being actually representations of proper names written in the old style. But if we turn from the hieroglyphic to the enchorial part of the inscription, its final

group, through the investigation of it which has been already submitted to the reader's judgement, affords, I apprehend, no small accession of strength to the argument. This group bears in three ways on the subject in question. In the first place it confirms the proofs previously given of the corresponding hieroglyphic combination being ideagraphic. For it is on all hands admitted, that the phonetic enchorial characters are not immediate resemblances of hieroglyphic figures: but the ingredients of the group before us have been shown to be resemblances of the hieroglyphs under which they are placed. They therefore are not phonetic; and since the copies are ideagraphically used, it may be fairly inferred that their patterns are likewise ideagraphic. In the second place, this group supplies an additional proof that the expression of "ever-living, beloved by Phthah," was employed ultimately to denote the proper name Ptolemy. For there is nothing else at the end of the enchorial text to signify the denomination, and we cannot suppose it altogether omitted here, when in the corresponding place of the hieroglyphic writing it is displayed in the most formal manner, in both the new and the old style, preceded by the titles of sovereign king, and followed by the surname Epiphanes. In the third place, this group proves with peculiar force the novelty of the phonetic style of designation at the date of the Rosetta inscription, as it affords an instance of the ideagraphic method having so late as that date been still employed by itself alone to express the proper name. It is true this name is in other parts of the enchorial text phonetically written, and I believe no instance can be produced of any legend out of which phonetic characters were entirely omitted, after once the Egyptians had arrived at a knowledge of their use. But still the appearance of a name written solely after the old style in any part of a document proves beyond a doubt that, at the time, that style was yet fresh in the apprehension of the people, and consequently that the new style, which with all its defects was infinitely preferable to the old one, could not have been long in use among them.

The Table of Abydos^a next comes under consideration, and will enable us to restrict the commencement of the Egyptian phonetic writing within much closer limits than any as yet assigned; provided it can be ascertained who was the sovereign denoted by the legend repeated throughout the third row of cartouches. For the phonetic use of hieroglyphs was actually introduced by this sovereign, as has been already proved, both from the non-appearance of characters so employed in the older parts of the record, and from the nature of their appearance in the last row; where they present to our notice a very remarkable peculiarity, just such as might be expected to have arisen out of their first adoption by ideagraphic writers. The determining therefore the name expressed by the phonetic group in the nom-cartouches at the bottom of the Table will fix precisely the reign in which the new method of designation commenced in Egypt.

But as half the characters of this group are unused in the legends of the Greek and Roman dynasties, they cannot be deciphered through the sole examination of the writing itself; and we must endeavour, by means that are at least in some respect external, previously to arrive at the aggregate phonetic power of the entire collection. The consideration however of the internal nature of the subject affords material aid in this investigation; for, from the difference in the style of writing, and much greater fulness of ingredients in the prenom of the sought king than in that of Psammetichus, it may be perceived that he reigned at a later period; and it may be also seen, through the characters whose powers are already ascertained, that his name is terminated by a syllable beginning and ending with S. Our

^a The former magnificence of Abydos is proved, not only by the present extent of its ruins, but also by the testimony of ancient authors. Strabo informs us, that although it was in his time but a small village, yet it had previously been, next after Thebes, the most considerable town in Egypt. *"Εοικε δὲ ὑπάρξαι ποτὲ ἡ Ἀβυδος πόλις μεγάλη, δευτέρουσα μετὰ τὰς Θήβας· νυνὶ δ' ἐστὶ κατοικία μικρά.*—Lib. xvii. Amsterdam edition of 1707, p. 1167.

external search is very much narrowed by the knowledge of these circumstances, for if they be applied to the lists of Egyptian sovereigns given in a preceding chapter, they will be found to answer to no other name than *Amasis*. To that name however they conduct us in all the three lists, in two of which it is exactly the same, and in the third it is *Amosis*; the variation being only such as is easily accounted for by the nature of the early phonetic writing not admitting the use of a vowel sign in any place where it did not by itself constitute a syllable. But the agreement of the three catalogues towards their conclusion shows that we may depend on their evidence in that part of them, and particularly in the name just mentioned, with respect to which their concord is as close as could be expected. The word *Amasis* therefore may be considered sufficiently ascertained to form a standard, by reference to which the deciphering of the group under consideration is to be tried.

This inference will be strengthened by our finding that we can arrive at the very same standard through another route, and by means of evidence derived from entirely different sources. Among a great number of Egyptian monuments exhibiting the legend to which the group in question belongs, there is included the Flaminian obelisk. But we are informed by Pliny, in a passage of his *Natural History* already alluded to,^a that this obelisk was erected about the time when Pythagoras visited Egypt. Some doubt indeed is thrown on the correctness of his statement, in consequence of the name attributed by him to the Egyptian monarch then reigning; but the credit due to his general accuracy is not to be withdrawn in this instance on account of his mispronunciation of a foreign name. For he might retain a very confused notion of such name, and yet a very clear one of a date; particularly of a date expressed to him by means of a Greek denomination with which he was

^a Is autem obeliscus, quem Divus Augustus in Circo magno statuit, excisus est a rege Semneserteo, quo regnante Pythagoras in Ægypto fuit.—
PLINII lib. xxxvi. cap. 9.

perfectly familiar. The statement therefore of Pliny cannot rationally be altogether rejected. Now, if from that statement it should follow that the monarch whose name is phonetically expressed by the group under consideration was cotemporary with Pythagoras, a variety of evidence would concur in proving that he must have been Amasis. It is expressly recorded by Porphyry in his *Life of Pythagoras*, that this philosopher visited Egypt in the reign of Amasis, bringing with him a letter of recommendation from Polycrates, tyrant of Samos;^a and the same statement is made more briefly by Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of the Philosophers*.^b Clemens Alexandrinus also makes him cotemporary with Polycrates;^c and again, Herodotus relates that Polycrates was united in friendship and rights of hospitality with Amasis.^d However it cannot be maintained that the testimony of Pliny affords a limit of time settled with strict precision; nor, even if it did, would the mere comparison of the Flaminian obelisk with that testimony enable us to confine the group in question to the designation of Amasis; because several legends are said to be inscribed on the same obelisk, of which it is only known that the one containing the above group is the latest, as being placed in the outer lines of

^a Ἀντιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ πρωτεύσαντων, καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, διηγεῖται λέγων· τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀποδεξάμενον τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἱερέων τὴν ἀγωγὴν, σπουδάσαντά τε μετασχεῖν ταύτης, δεηθῆναι Πολυκράτους τοῦ τυράννου, γράψαι πρὸς Ἀμασιν τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀιγύπτου, φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, ἵνα κοινωνήσῃ τῆς τῶν προειρημένων παιδείας.—PORPHYRIUS sive MALCHUS *de Vita Pythagoræ*, sec. 7.

^b Νέος δὲ ὢν καὶ φιλομαθής, ἀπεδήμησε τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ πάσας ἐμυήθη τάς τε Ἑλληνικὰς καὶ βαρβαρικὰς τελετάς. Ἐγένετο οὖν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, ὁπηνίκα καὶ Πολυκράτης αὐτὸν Ἀμάσιδι συνέστησεν δι' ἐπιστολῆς.—DIOGENES LAERTIUS, lib. viii. sec. 2, 3.

^c Πυθαγόρας δὲ κατὰ Πολυκράτη τὸν τύραννον, περὶ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα εὐρίσκεται.—*Stromat.* lib. i. p. 221.

^d ——— ξεινήϊον Ἀμάσι τῷ Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεῖ φιλίην συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα, καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου.—Lib. iii. cap. 39.

the inscriptions on the different sides. But when it is considered that this legend appears on a great number of other monuments, and consequently that the prince to whom it belongs must have enjoyed some celebrity, affluence, and power, and that he must have had a long reign to erect or complete so many buildings; we are necessarily conducted to this very Amasis, who was the latest Egyptian sovereign entitled to such character out of those who reigned near the time of Pythagoras.

Of the two arguments by which we are thus limited to a single name, the latter one has been derived from sources entirely external; but if the internal evidence supplied by the writing itself be taken into consideration, it will be found greatly to strengthen that step in the reasoning which depends on the testimony of Pliny. The combined force of both proofs cannot, I will venture to assert, be resisted, and Amasis must be considered fully established as the word expressed by the group under examination. But the collective signification of the entire group being ascertained, it is particularly easy to adjust the distribution of phonetic powers among its separate ingredients; as the value of the final hieroglyphs is already known, and the part of the word represented by them being subducted, there remains but a syllable a-piece for the two preceding characters. The powers thus arrived at being combined in the order of the characters to which they appertain, there is presented to us either *A-Ma-SiS* or *A-Mo-SiS*; and nothing is left undetermined except the vowel part of the second syllable, which lies open to one change, in consequence of a difference to that extent between the authorities from which the external standard is derived.

For the second of the investigations which have led to this analysis, I am indebted to the sagacity of Dr. Young. Guided solely by external considerations, this ingenious writer actually hit upon the name represented by the legend of which the group in question forms part; but unfortunately he made a wrong selection of the cartouche with which he tried imme-

diately to connect it; and the prenom being really ideagraphic, it was of course impossible for him to make out any phonetic correspondence between the elements of the two combinations which he compared together. Still it may be worth while to follow him in his attempt, and inquire a little more particularly, how it came to pass that, although he approached so near to the object of his research, he yet failed of reaching it. His determination of the age of the Flaminian obelisk by the testimony of Pliny has been already given; immediately after which the train of his reasoning proceeds as follows: "Among the most common of all the names of the kings of Egypt, on a great variety of monuments, are those which were mistaken by Kircher for a sort of amulets or charms"—"they are found in the external lines of the Alexandrian, the two at Luxor, the Flaminian and the Sallustian [obelisks], while none are ever found exterior to them. They must, therefore, necessarily be attributed to one of the latest kings of Egypt; and there is none so likely to have made such a display as *Amasis*, a man of considerable magnificence, and at the same time of a cautious and artful character: indeed we have no alternative left but to choose between him and some of the kings who revolted against the Persians, and who do not appear so likely to have had leisure or finances for public works of splendour. His father's name, like that of Nechao, contains the character denoting Vulcan, and it may be called *Maenuphthes*;^a but he was not the son of a king."—*Supp. of Encyc. Britan.* Art. EGYPT, p. 61.

The confidence of our author in this determination of the

^a In order to arrive at this word, Dr. Young must have attributed phonetic powers to the upper as well as the lower set of characters in the nom-cartouche. He may have supposed the upper group to denote the first part of the compound, by making the crown (as M. Champollion after him did) equivalent to M; the feather to E; the wavy line to N; and the tropic figure for Vulcan or Phthah, to PH. But how he got THES out of the lower group which really expressed AMASIS, it is not so easy to conceive, there being no correspondence between the supposed and real significations of this group except in its final character.

name must have been greatly shaken, not only by his inability to sustain it by a phonetic analysis of the group which he supposed to express the word Amasis, but also by the circumstance to which he alludes at the close of the above extract. For, in consequence of his mistake respecting the nature of the royal legends, in attributing the nom-cartouche of each legend to the father of the individual denoted by the prenom, he must have been apprehensive of his choice of the name being at variance with history; as the father of Amasis was never a king, and therefore could have no cartouche appropriated to him. Accordingly in his short publication of 1823, he altered his first decision, assigning for the change reasons that are rather vague, and appearing to be influenced principally by the bold assertions of M. Champollion; as will be perceived by the following extracts: "M. Champollion has lately had the goodness to communicate to me, by letter, some suggestions, which, I conclude, he is on the point of making public, and I therefore take the liberty of mentioning them, as far as I think them at all admissible, though perhaps a little prematurely. He is disposed to refer the name, which I consider as that of the father of Amasis, to *Sesostris*, as synonymous with *Ramesses*, which he thinks the characters are probably intended to express phonetically. Now I readily allow, that where this name is written fully and accurately, as it is repeatedly found in Mr. Bankes's great catalogue of Abydos, it may, without much violence, be read nearly as M. Champollion proposes, "the approved by Phthah, Ramesses," or "the counterpart of Phthah, Ramesses;"^a the first part of the group undergoing several synonymous variations, while

^a We may here perceive, that notwithstanding M. Champollion's confident decision in the *Précis* respecting the upper group of the nom-cartouche of this legend phonetically expressing *Ammon-mai*; yet such was not his original opinion. And in particular it may be observed of the rectangular figure, which he latterly was so certain of being here phonetically employed as an M, that he previously thought it a tropic character, representing the God Phthah.

the end remains unchanged; although, if this reading were established, I should refer the first name to Amenophis or *Memnon*, who was the son of Ramesses or Armesses, called Miamun;^a and to whom the tomb of my Amasis is *said* to be attributed in the Greek and Latin inscriptions which are found in it; who is also *said* to have built the palace of Abydos, on which my Amasis evidently appears as the founder; who *is more easily understood* than Amasis to be prior to the Psammetichus mentioned at Ebsambul; and who *is more likely* than Amasis to have been at Berytus or Nahr el Kelb, where Mr. Wyse, as I am informed by Sir William Gell, has distinctly observed this name, accompanied by the nail-headed characters. *All these reasons are more than sufficient to counterbalance the single assertion of Pliny.*"—p. 52. Then after some hesitation he finally concludes: "—— I am even inclined to hope, from M. Champollion's latest communications, that he will find some means of overcoming the difficulties that I have stated respecting the Pharaohs, for he assures me, that he has identified the names of no less than *thirty* of them, and that they accord with the traditions of Manetho."—p. 53.

Had Dr. Young been aware that the testimony of Pliny was in close accordance with the internal evidence supplied, by comparing the style of writing in the prenoms of the legend under

^a Here it may be observed, that Dr. Young identified Memnon (to whom he transferred the prenom cartouche of the legend in question from Amasis) with the Amenophis, who is last king in Manetho's list of 18th dynasty; although, in conformity with Eusebius, he had made him 8th king of same dynasty in the synopsis of the different catalogues which he inserted in the treatise published in 1819. The versatility with which he shifted the place of this sovereign, has been closely imitated by M. Champollion and subsequent writers, with respect to several names, and particularly with respect to that of Sesostris, the most remarkable personage in their lists. On a comparison of those lists, which are, of course, all of them perfectly correct, and quite authentic, it is amusing enough to observe how unceremoniously the grand hero of Egyptian gasconade has been tossed about; and what a variety of places he has been made to occupy, not only by different writers, but also by the same writer at different times.

consideration, and of that of Psammetichus; he would not have been disposed to set aside such authority upon the very slight grounds adduced in the above extracts; but would probably have arrived at a very different conclusion, and have inferred from the correctness of the Latin writer's statement, that the tomb on which this legend is inscribed belonged to Amasis, not to Memnon; that the palace of Abydos, which was certainly founded by the sovereign represented by this legend, was built by Amasis, not by Memnon; that the sovereign in question reigned after, not before Psammetichus; that Amasis was just as likely to have been at Berytus as Memnon, even though Mr. Wyse thought he had deciphered the latter name out of some legend he there met with; and lastly, that M. Champollion did not succeed in identifying thirty of the names of the ancient Egyptian sovereigns, and in particular that he did not make out the legend before us to belong to a monarch, who, according to Manetho's canon, as misrepresented by some modern writers, reigned about eight hundred years before Psammetichus, or above two thousand three hundred years before that monarch, according to the same canon, as given by Eusebius and Syncellus. Upon a review of the entire matter, Dr. Young is, I conceive, entitled to credit for having made so near an approach to the truth in his original attempt; and his subsequent failure is in fairness to be attributed to difficulties, which might naturally be expected to arise in the first investigation of the subject, and for which of course he is not to be blamed.

The conclusion which has been come to in reference to the name expressed by the group analyzed in the preceding pages, will be found to be corroborated by a separate investigation of the phonetic power of its leading character. This character is the portrait of the solar god, respecting whose Egyptian proper name much disagreement and perplexity may be observed in the accounts transmitted to us by ancient authors, and probably existed among the Egyptians themselves, owing to the very confused and inconsistent notions which they had of their deities in general, as also in this particular instance, in conse-

quence of their superstitious adherence to their old and very imperfect method of designation, in preference to phonetic or alphabetic records. Still there are some circumstances connected with the case which may perhaps lead us through this maze to a definite result. Of the different accounts now extant that of Plutarch is entitled to most credit, both from the inquiring disposition of his mind and from the particular attention he paid to this subject, as he travelled to Egypt for the express purpose of acquiring at the fountain-head more accurate information as to the Egyptian mythology. Our choice is thus narrowed between *Arueris* and *Horus*, to whom in turn he gives, in passages of his treatise on Osiris and Isis already quoted, the honour of the solar godship. He is not indeed quite consistent respecting these two deities, for from his identifying both of them with the Apollo of the Greeks, it follows that they were the same person ; while on the other side, from his calling *Arueris* an elder *Horus*, it follows that they were different. The blame, however, of the contradiction is to be thrown upon the subject with which he had to deal, not upon himself ; and his testimony may still be relied on as to the denomination for which we are in search. *Arueris* therefore is either synonymous with *Horus*, or the older Egyptian name for the god of the sun.

In confirming this result I am assisted by the researches of M. Letronne. In vol. i. p. 78, of his work entitled, *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Egypte*, he has given an account of a very old Greek inscription, written in the reign of the son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in which a dedication is made to *Aroeris* as to the great god Apollo. I have not had access to the publication itself, but I take from the *Précis* the following description, or perhaps copy, of the passage in question : “ Les Grecs donnèrent au dieu que les Egyptiens appelaient *Aroéris*, le nom de leur *Apollon*, parce qu'ils crurent que ces deux divinités étaient identiques ; ce dont fait foi l'inscription grecque gravée, sous le règne de Ptolémée Philométor, sur le listel d'une porte intérieure du grand temple d'Ombos, qui dédie le

sécos de cet édifice au grand Dieu Aroéris-Apollon, ΑΡΩΗΡΕΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ.”—*Précis*, p. 199.^a

The proper name of the god accounts for the phonetic power of his hieroglyphic portrait at the head of the group which we are considering. And thus the word really expressed by this group is proved to be *Amasis*, on the one hand by external evidence, derived from the accounts of the principal writers on Egyptian history compared together, as well as from the separate testimony of Pliny; and on the other hand, by internal evidence afforded by the writing itself in its collective state, as also separately by the principal character in it. But it cannot be supposed that the legend of which the group in question forms part, belonged in common to Amasis and a number of preceding kings; for arguments of both a positive and negative kind, deduced from the appearance of the Table of Abydos, prove in a very decided manner, that the individual represented by this legend was the very first Egyptian sovereign who had phonetic writing employed in the expression of his name. Hence the inference is inevitable, that all the magnificent buildings on which this same legend has been found, were erected or completed by Amasis, the last of the native princes of Egypt who enjoyed any prosperity or power; and of course that in his time all the arts connected with architecture arrived at the highest state of perfection to which they ever attained in Egypt; for the monuments which bear his name include those which are executed in the finest style. Thus for instance the Flaminian obelisk is particularly noticed by Zoëga, as one of three which exhibit the most finished specimens of Egyptian engraving.^b

^a By reference to Dr. Young's article on Egypt, I find that he alludes to this very inscription, and gives the credit of its discovery to Mr. Hamilton in the following words: "Mr. Hamilton has also given us a Greek inscription at Ombos, in which Arueris is made synonymous with Apollo."—*Supp. of Encyc. Brit. Art. EGYPT*, p. 57. But the allusion here made to the subject is too vague to supply the information which I wanted.

^b Sunt enim tres illi obelisci, Lateranensis, Flaminius, et quem ante Curiam Innocentianam nuper erigi jussit Pius Sextus, eo artificio scalpti, ut

In thus dealing with the extraordinary remains of former Egyptian grandeur, and in stripping those truly wonderful edifices of part of the superadded wonders with which imagination has clothed them, by taking off near a thousand years from their reputed age, I am conscious that I run the risk of offending the taste of many readers. Mankind have ever been fond of the marvellous, and as they lent a ready ear to the boasting tales of the Egyptian priests of old, and in like manner now assent to deductions from an erroneous theory of modern times; so I fear they will be reluctant to permit the dissipation of a pleasing illusion. Yet truth surely must be the great object of every inquiry; and the conclusion to which the matter has been here brought, is shown to be the true one, not only by the arguments already adduced directly sustaining it, but also by collateral support, which may be got from reason and history combined. As long as ever Egypt remained an independent kingdom it is reasonable to suppose that all the arts would be progressively improving, particularly in times of peace and prosperity: and history tells us that this country was never more prosperous than in the two long reigns immediately preceding the period when her power was finally crushed by the devastating hand of Cambyzes. Herodotus states that Apries, till near the close of a reign of twenty-five years, enjoyed greater prosperity than any of the former kings of Egypt, except his forefather Psammetichus.^a And he informs us of Amasis, that it was in his reign that Egypt was said to have arrived at the summit of her good fortune, “both as to the enrichment of the land from the river,

quæcunque Ægyptia monumenta advecta fuere in Europam, excepto uno alteroque minoris moduli opere, elegantia longe superent; et vix credibile sit extare hodie in Ægypto quæ palnam eis præripiant: exque iis potissimum discimus, quæ fuerit artis indoles apud Ægyptios quo tempore res eorum maxime florueret.—ZOECA *de Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, p. 67.

^a ——— ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιλῆην Ἀπρίης, ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμίτιχον τὸν ἐωϋτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο ἐνδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλῆων, ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε καὶ ἑικοσι ἄρξας.—Lib. ii. c. 161.

and the enrichment of the people from the land; so that the country then contained twenty thousand populous cities.”^a There probably is an exaggeration in the closing part of this account, which the historian does not give from his own knowledge, but only from report. Still after making every abatement, the description conveys an idea of the wealth and power of Egypt under the reign of Amasis quite commensurate to the extent and magnificence of those buildings, of which the very ruins now strike the mind with such admiration and astonishment.

Besides, what comes more home to the point, Herodotus dwells at considerable length on the number of porticoes, of colossi, of androsphinxes, erected by this monarch; states generally that in all the remarkable temples he dedicated works worthy of being seen for their stupendous size,^b and specially mentions the temple of Isis in Memphis as entirely built by him, of immense extent, and most wonderful appearance.^c It is also to be noticed, that he speaks of all those surprising constructions from his own knowledge and as an eye-witness; thus he tells us that the building which he beheld with the greatest admiration was a chapel twenty-one cubits in length, fourteen in breadth, and eight in height, formed out of a single stone, which two thousand seamen, all of a superior order, were employed three years in conducting by water from Elephantina; a distance of about twenty days’ journey from the place where it was fixed. The dimensions of this stone certainly give an astonishing idea of the size of the materials which Amasis made use of in building;

^a Ἐπ’ Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλῆος λέγεται Ἰαίγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἐνδαιμονῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. Καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας.—Lib. ii. c. 177.

^b Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱεροῖσι ὁ Ἀμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοισι ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα.—Lib. ii. c. 176.

^c Τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρὸν Ἀμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.—Lib. ii. c. 176.

particularly when it is recollected that the cubit was about two feet of our measure.^a

Diodorus Siculus gives us the additional information, that Amasis during a very long reign enjoyed great power and popularity among his subjects in consequence of his governing according to law: and that he had some pretensions to the character of a conqueror, as he subdued Cyprus, and reduced the cities of that island under his dominion. The Sicilian indeed does not enter into any particular detail respecting the architectural works of this prince, but as far as his account goes it corroborates that of the older historian; for he states that Amasis ornamented many of the temples with dedicated buildings worthy of being recorded.^b However Herodotus is chiefly to be consulted on this point, as he visited Egypt so near the lifetime of Amasis; and it certainly is very hard to conceive how the evidence here adduced from him can be resisted, for although he was very credulous, yet he was evidently a lover of truth, and where he tells any thing of his own knowledge no profane writer is entitled to more credit. But the part of his evidence which particularly deserves attention is the assertion that Amasis erected works of wonderful magnitude in *all* the remarkable temples of the gods. The correspondence is very striking between this statement and the circumstances of the legend before us, which is found on a great number of the older Egyptian buildings still extant: and even if nothing else was known upon

^a Τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτέων, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωυμάζω, ἔστι τόδε· οἴκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἕτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δὲ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται. Τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἕξωθέν ἐστι, εἷς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχες· εὖρος δὲ, τεσσερεσκαίδεκα· ὕψος δὲ, οκτώ.—Lib. ii. c. 175.

^b Ἀμασις δὲ διατάξας τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ὥς ποτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν, ἤρχε νομίμως τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, καὶ μεγάλης ἐτύγχανεν ἀποδοχῆς. Κατεστρέψτο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεις, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις. Βασιλεύσας δ' ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα.—Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 68.

the subject, such coincidence alone would afford strong reason for supposing that we had hit upon the graphic denomination of Amasis. But when all the proofs which lead to this appropriation of the legend are taken into consideration, their united force, I conceive, places the result nearly beyond the reach of doubt.

The rightful owner of this hieroglyphic legend being ascertained, it may be interesting to try if we can trace any liberties taken with it by Manetho. From the prodigious length which he assigned to the Egyptian monarchy, there is strong reason to suspect that he must have made each of the older written names stand for a number of spoken ones. But a proof of such practice, derived from internal evidence afforded by the writing itself, would be more convincing; and this, I apprehend, is supplied by an examination of the phonetic group in the present legend. The hieroglyphic figure of the solar god has been already proved to have expressed the word *Arueris*, and if the Egyptian priest had read it in the group before us with the phonetic power of the entire first syllable of that word, he would have arrived at the name *Armesses*; if he had read it with the mixed power supplied by a metonymic appellation of the god, he would have got the name *Remesses*; and if he had dropped the middle vowel, the omission of which, as having no sign in the group, was within his reach, he would have come to *Ramses* or *Rampses*. Hence it appears that he *may* have fabricated three names of his catalogue out of the group in question, in addition to the one legitimately expressed by it; and that in all probability he *must* have done so, will still farther appear from his having identified those names. It has been already observed that he identified all three; the first and second of them, from his applying each denomination in different passages to the same individual, the grandfather of Sethos; and the second and third, from his stating that Sethos was called *Rampses after Remesses*. But *Armesses*, *Remesses*, and *Rampses* could not possibly be conceived to be the same name, except in the sense of their being readings of the same group. Thus we are necessarily

conducted to the very one before us; for it is quite beyond the range of probability that two which differed, could admit of the same reading and same variations of reading, such as those above specified. But if he thus multiplied the name expressed by a phonetic group, it may be justly inferred that he made still more free with the older ideagraphic ones, with respect to which he was restricted solely by the vague and indeterminate boundary drawn by oral tradition.

From the unfair practice which has been here very nearly brought home to Manetho, there is reason to think that the Egyptians in their first phonetic writing employed some of their characters with mixed phonetic powers, such as are now to be observed in the Chinese expression of foreign names; although there is not, as far as I am aware, any instance of a legend at present extant from which this can be directly proved. But the Egyptian historian would hardly have ventured to attach to the portrait of the solar god phonetic powers which he was not authorized to do by the system then in use. The particular circumstances, indeed, which limited this portrait to one power in a particular group that was in his time more than two hundred years old, might be forgotten or overlooked, but the general modes of reading an eminently sacred character could not; and if he had gone beyond these, he would have subjected himself to great danger of detection. Hence it would follow, that the early phonetic writing of Egypt admitted of a greater variety of reading than that employed in the designation of Greek and Roman names. If this surmise be well founded, I am bound to admit that it considerably weakens the force of one of the arguments which have been urged in a preceding chapter against the nom-cartouche of the legend attributed to Thouthmosis being phonetic. However it does not touch the proofs I have advanced of that group, whether ideagraphic or phonetic, not having been as yet rightly deciphered; nor does it at all affect the arguments adduced in favour of the legend of Memnon being ideagraphic; for no room is above given for suspecting a change of power in more than one character of a group, and no

possible varieties of such change in a single element of a phonetic combination, could account for all the various readings of that ancient hieroglyphic denomination.

To return however to the royal legend which is here principally under consideration; however, or with whomsoever, the reading began by which it was attributed to some very ancient conqueror, this reading of it was too flattering to Egyptian vanity to be discontinued. Accordingly we are told by Tacitus that when Germanicus visited the magnificent ruins of ancient Thebes, the name of the principal agent recorded in one of the more remarkable inscriptions, and therefore probably expressed by the very legend before us, was read to him *Rhamses*. The conquests indeed of this sovereign, as related by the Latin historian to have been read from the inscription, entirely surpass the military achievements of Amasis; but the same dishonesty which misrepresented the name, would equally lead to a misrepresentation of the actions of the hero of the record. Besides, even according to my supposition, the inscription was near six hundred years old in the time of Germanicus, and it was quite impossible for the priest who pretended to read out its contents, or for any one else, to be able to ascertain the names of conquered nations which were expressed in ideographic writing of that age; he was therefore at perfect liberty, without the slightest risk of detection, to include in the list of conquests any countries he chose—a liberty of which he appears, from the account of Tacitus, to have availed himself to a very considerable extent.^a When the Roman general, who well knew the real diffi-

^a “ Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia: et manebant structis molibus literæ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ: jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat ‘habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem *Rhamsem* Lybiâ, Æthiopiâ, Medisque et Persis, et Bactriano, ac Scythiâ potitum; quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse:’ legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque, et dona templis ebur, atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quæ-

culties of conducting a much smaller army, heard this gipsey reader narrate the imaginary exploits of a madman, marching with seven hundred thousand soldiers in one direction through Lybia and Ethiopia, and then in the opposite one, to the northern extremity of Asia; and not merely sweeping like the sudden gush of a torrent over so large a portion of the surface of the globe, but retaining a permanent dominion [tenuisse] over this prodigious empire—when Germanicus heard the aged priest with grave face and solemn assurance read out this tale of wonder, he surely must have been greatly edified!

Should it here occur to any one that, if Manetho and the priests after him read the nom-cartouche of the legend under consideration as Armesses, or Remesses, or Rhamses, such reading would weaken the proof of Amasis being the name really thereby expressed; this objection can be easily removed. For, in the first place, if it was some other phonetic group that the Egyptian priests read as above, then their authority is not at all opposed to the appropriation which has been made of the hieroglyphic designation in question. But, in the second place, if—as I admit there is strong reason to suspect—it was the very legend before us that they read as the name of an exceedingly ancient conqueror, then the mere internal evidence of the writing itself, arising from a comparison of its prenom with that of Psammetichus, is quite sufficient to prove the fallacy of such reading. The characters in this prenom are in number more than double what are to be found in any very old one; and besides the combination at the bottom of the group is one of more recent formation, for it is frequently to be met with so late as in the prenoms of the Greek sovereigns. The authority then of Manetho and the other Egyptian priests does not at all bear upon the point at issue, or it is rendered utterly valueless by the internal evidence of the writing itself; so that in neither case does it in

que natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romanâ jubentur.”—*Annalium*, lib. ii. c. 60.

the slightest degree diminish the force of the conclusion already arrived at.

As I have in the course of this discussion laid great stress on the evidence to be derived from the style of writing in the cartouches, I think it right here to meet an objection to such evidence which may possibly occur to the reader. If the phonetic group which I have appropriated to Amasis, be compared with the nom-cartouche of Psammetichus, it will be found to be of a decidedly older style. For its leading character, by being also ideagraphically employed in the expression of the same name, marks, as has been already explained, a period when phonetic writing was only just coming into use. Besides there are no less than two characters in this group which are not to be met with in the system applied to the designation of Greek and Roman names, while there is only one such in the other group. The style of writing then in the nom-cartouches shows the legend of Psammetichus to be the less ancient one, while that in the prenoms would prove it the older of the two; and it may be thought that a criterion of age which leads to such contradictory results cannot be depended on. But on examination it will be found, that there is no inconsistency or contradiction in the representation of the case at which we have thus arrived. It has, from mere external considerations, been already inferred as probable, that so remarkable a prince as Psammetichus might have an inscription made in celebration of him long after his death, but not after the commencement of the Grecian dynasty. Now these two qualifications are in exact accordance with the characters in his nom-cartouche, which indicate an age not only later than his own time, but even later than that of Amasis, though, on the other hand, earlier than that of the Ptolemies; so that they must in all probability have been insculped in some one of the short intervals of Egyptian independence which occurred between the invasions of Cambyzes and Alexander. The artist applying a new mode of designation to this ancient prince would of course employ phonetic writing of the style which prevailed in his own time; but he had no power to make any

change in the ideagraphic group which had been previously established as the hieroglyphic name of the same individual. The criterion then upon which I rely, does not in this instance lead to any inconsistency, and the different times which it points out are not those of the same person; since we are conducted through the nom-cartouche to the age of the insculptor, and through the prenom to that of Psammetichus. There is one circumstance more worth observing which this criterion indicates in the case before us, viz. that if we could meet with the legend of Psammetichus, as it was written in his life-time, we should find it destitute of the nom-cartouche.

The very reign in which phonetic writing began in Egypt, has been deduced in part from the Table of Abydos, quite independently of the conjecture which I have hazarded respecting the nature of that Table. But now that my argument on the subject has been closed, I hope I shall be excused in reverting for a moment to that conjecture, for the purpose of showing that it derives some support from its accordance with two facts well ascertained in history. In the first place Amasis arrived at the Egyptian throne by usurpation. Accordingly in the Table may be seen his escutcheon intruded upon the range of armorial ensigns of his predecessor Apries, and occupying the last cartouche of second row, or that which is in the column marked No. 1. In the second place, Amasis was a man of mean birth and ignoble family, on which account he was at first despised by the Egyptians, though they afterwards found reason to change their opinion of him.^a Hence he could not, in the representation of his name, make use of the royal prenom of a long line of illustrious ancestors, as his two predecessors, Psam-mis and Apries had done in the two upper rows of the Table. He therefore would be the more readily disposed to adopt a new mode of designation, in which all reference to ancestry

^a Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατῴνοντο τὸν Ἀμασιν Ἀιγυπτίοι, καὶ ἐν οὐδε-
μιῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλη ἦγον, ἅτε δὴ δημότην το πρὶν ἔόντα, καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπι-
φανέος.—HERODOTUS, lib. ii. c. 172.

might be dispensed with; and this circumstance accounts for the phonetic use of characters among the Egyptians having begun only one hundred years after their first intercourse with alphabetic writers; whereas the corresponding interval was at least double as great in the case of Japan, and still greater in that of China.

Having now proved, from various considerations, that the phonetic writing of the Egyptians began later than their intercourse with the Greeks, I shall conclude this part of my subject by drawing the reader's attention to some circumstances which more directly indicate that it was derived from that very intercourse.

In the first place three very remarkable peculiarities of Grecian orthography are to be found in the phonetic system of the Egyptians. 1. Though the Greeks made frequent use of aspirations in pronouncing the words of their language, yet they had no letter in their alphabet of *h* power; and the subsidiary signs which now supply this defect are not to be seen in their old writing composed of uncial characters. 2. Though in speaking they employed the articulate powers which we denote in English orthography by *y* and *w*, yet they had no consonants directly to represent those powers, but expressed them indirectly and circuitously, just as the French now do, by vowels of *i* and *u* power placed before other vowels, the pairs thus combined being contracted into single syllables. Of course I must be here understood to refer only to their general system, and not to the peculiar one adopted by a limited portion of their nation (the Æolians), and only for a limited time. 3. Though the distinction between an open and close pronunciation is equally observable in the case of all the vowels, and therefore ought to be marked by a difference of characters for all, if for any of the five; yet in the Greek alphabet this distinction is indicated for two of them, and not for the rest.

All these peculiarities have, in the preceding pages, been brought home to the phonetic system of the Egyptians: the first, by a comparison of two nom-cartouches of the emperor

(Adrian, or rather, as the name is always found written on the coins of his reign) *Hadrianus*; both parts of the second, by the legend of the emperor (Nerva Trajan, or, as his name was anciently pronounced) *Nerwa Trayanus*; and the parts of the third by a great variety of instances. The reader may easily recall to his memory, or by turning to the first plate he can see, that in the legends therein exhibited, the open *e* is expressed by two feathers, but the close *e* by one; and again the open *o*, by a ram's horn, but the close *o*, by an inflected knot. Both these distinctions, though not uniformly, are yet frequently adhered to, in the employment of the above-mentioned characters; while on the other hand no distinction of the kind is ever found made in the hieroglyphic representation of any of the other vowels. Now although the example of the French orthography, compared with that of the Greeks, proves that two systems, not immediately connected, might agree in one of the above properties; yet to suppose that, without being derived one from the other, they should still agree in all the three peculiarities of so very arbitrary a nature, is certainly beyond the rational boundaries of credibility.

Under this head I have only to add, that in every one of the above peculiarities the Hebrew orthography differed from the Egyptian. 1. The Hebrew alphabet contains, not merely a letter of *h* power, but actually four letters, to express varieties of that power; so that here the contrast is particularly striking. 2. In this alphabet the *yod* and *waw*, when consonants, are used with exactly the same powers as the English *y* and *w*.^a 3. In the mode of writing Hebrew which was practised during the time that the phonetic system of the Egyptians continued in use, and for many ages after, no distinction whatever of signs was made between open and close vowels. The want of connexion, therefore, between the Hebrew alphabetic and the Egyptian phonetic systems is marked in a very strong and de-

^a If the reader have any doubt on this point, he will find it proved, I hope to his satisfaction, in the second part of this work.

cided manner. After considering the very wide difference thus indicated between the two systems, the reader may perhaps be amused by the following piece of information with which M. Champollion has condescended to favour us. “Il faut le dire, et c’est ici le lieu de faire ce rapprochement utile à la suite de cette discussion, l’alphabet hiéroglyphique égyptien avait, dans sa constitution même, abstraction faite de quelques sons, du nombre, et de la forme matérielle des signes, une ressemblance très-marquée avec l’alphabet hébreu.”—*Précis*, p. 111.

The second proof of connexion between the Greek and Egyptian systems which comes here to be considered is supplied by the shape of the characters phonetically employed in the enchorial writing. From a list of those characters inserted in one of the plates of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, illustrative of Dr. Young’s article on Egypt, I have selected seven which appear to have some resemblance to the Greek letters of same power. The reader may form his own judgment on the point by turning to the bottom of Plate III., where the corresponding characters of the two kinds of writing are placed in juxtaposition in order that they may be immediately compared with each other. With respect to the angle faced by the upright line, and the angle alone, which I have respectively derived from the Greek O and [ancient form of the *Sigma*] C; I conceive I am warranted in this, because it is precisely by the same angle that the semicircular termination of the cartouche is represented in the enchorial writing. Upon a review of the whole, I must admit that the imitation in the instances I have adduced, is only a disguised one; but surely it is as close as could be expected from a people who, even as late as the age of Tacitus, gave themselves out as the inventors of letters.^a

The Egyptians appear to have adopted phonetic signs later in their enchorial than in their hieroglyphic writing; for when they did so, they had made a nearer approach to some know-

^a “Et literarum semet inventores perhibent.”—TACITI *Annal.* lib. xi. c. 14.

ledge of the principles on which an alphabet should be constructed, as appears from the much smaller number of homophones admitted into this kind of writing; and they also then had a clearer conception of the distinction between open and close vowels; at least they gave a fuller expression to the open state of the vowel of *e* power, which is marked in the sacred characters by doubling the upright feather, but in the enchorial writing an upright line is trebled for the same purpose. The probability then is, that the phonetic use of characters was at first employed only in records of a grand and pompous nature, in the conspicuous display of royal names; and that it was not introduced into the ordinary familiar style of Egyptian writing, till after some experience was had of its great utility in the more formal method of designation.

The last circumstance to which I would beg to direct attention, as affording internal evidence of a connexion, is the very close and obvious similarity between the Greek and Coptic alphabets; which must at once strike the reader on comparing the Greek characters with those of the Table placed at the end of the third chapter. In that Table it may be perceived that the very names, as well as the forms of the letters are decidedly and incontestably of Greek origin, excepting a few towards the end of the collection.^a Now, when the Egyptians were making a

^a Even of the final letters one at least is of Greek origin. With respect to these additional letters I shall trouble the reader with but few remarks. The introduction among them of two of *h* power, when there had been no character of that power in the phonetic system of the Egyptians, points out the effect of an increased intercourse with the Shemitic nations; and the adoption of *Shei* probably resulted from the operation of the same cause. Hence the Hebrew alphabet differed in the powers of its characters somewhat less from the Coptic one, than from the previous system of phonetic hieroglyphs. *Fei* has been already traced to a hieroglyphic origin; and so might *Scima*, if M. Champollion was right in attributing to it the power of *k*, for then its shape might easily be conceived to have been derived from the handled bowl which was used with that power. However the authority here adduced cannot be depended on; and according to the power commonly attributed to the letter, it is more likely that it was derived from one of the

list of characters to be applied to a purely alphabetical purpose, why not form them out of those which they had then for a long time been in the habit of occasionally using as phonetic signs? If it be thought that the hieroglyphs were of too complicated a formation, the same objection cannot be urged against the enchorial figures, which were just as simple in their shape as those which they substituted for them. In what light then can we look upon their forsaking this national model for their letters, and adopting a foreign one, but as an open and unequivocal confession of the external source from which they had learned the phonetic use of signs?

Having now concluded my essay on the Egyptian hieroglyphs, I subjoin a copy of a paper just put into my hands, which I give as a matter of curiosity connected with the subject, but without vouching for its perfect correctness, as I have not seen the Greek of which it supplies a translation. Should there be many characters common to the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Rosetta stone and on this monument, I am in great hopes that the deciphering of the former record will lead to that of the latter; and that a considerable addition will thus be made to the number of hieroglyphs, whose ideagraphic significations will have been ascertained by pursuing the method I have proposed.

forms of the Greek *s*, if such form existed in early times. As to *Dei*, it evidently was derived from the Greek *t*, for, from the examples which have been given in the fourth chapter, it may be perceived that the Egyptians confounded with each other the *t* and *d* powers in their phonetic designation of names.

Translations of the Three Greek Inscriptions on the Pedestal of the EGYPTIAN OBELISK removed from the Isle of PHILÆ, for W. J. BANKES, ESQ., under the direction of G. BELZONI, in 1819; and erected at KINGSTON HALL, DORSETSHIRE.—
The two first Inscriptions are only painted in red letters upon the surface, the lowest is cut into the stone.

THE UPPERMOST INSCRIPTION.

.
 of the Gods Euergetes
 Gods Epiphanes, of the God Eupator, and of the God Philo-
 metor, and of the Gods Euergetes, greeting. We have
 submitted to you the copy of the letter written to Lochus
 our Cousin and General, and we permit to you the setting
 up the Monument which you apply for
 Pacon 22

THE SECOND INSCRIPTION.

King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the Sister, and Queen
 Cleopatra the wife, to Lochus their brother, greeting . . .
 to us from the
 a copy
 you shall make
 not to trouble them

THE THIRD INSCRIPTION.

To King Ptolemy, and Queen Cleopatra the Sister, and Queen
 Cleopatra the wife, beneficent Deities, the Priests of the great
 Goddess Isis in Abatus and Philæ, greeting.

Whereas those frequenting Philæ, as Generals and Prefects,
 and Governors of Thebes, and royal scribes, and Prefects of the

frontier-guards, and all other Functionaries and constituted authorities, and the rest who are in office, compel us to make contributions to them against our will, and out of this it results that the Temple is deteriorated, and that we are in danger of not having what is appointed for the sacrifices and libations to be made for you and your children;

We request of you, great Deities as you are, if it shall seem good, to order Noumenius your cousin and secretary for correspondence to write to Lochus your cousin and general of the Thebaid, not to trouble us in these things, nor to suffer any other to do the same, and to give us the necessary decrees to that effect, and in them to permit us to set up a Monument on which we may inscribe your kindness to us upon these points, that your favour may be perpetuated upon it to all time: when this shall be done, we and the Temple of Isis shall hold ourselves obliged.

Fare ye well.

Height of the Three Plinths (in one block), 2 feet 10 inches;—of the lower member of the Pedestal, 3 feet 4 inches;—of the upper member of ditto, 2 feet 5 inches, (the whole Pedestal in one block);—of Shaft, 22 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, (in one block also):—total height, 30 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Lowest Plinth, 12 feet 9 inches square; Upper Plinth, 8 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; Lower member of Pedestal, 3 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; Upper member of Pedestal, 3 feet 1 inch; Bottom of Shaft, 2 feet 2 inches; Top of Shaft, 1 foot $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The material of the whole Monument is red Egyptian Granite.

Copied, from Drawings furnished by W. J. BANKES, ESQ., in Black Marble, and sold at the ROYAL MUSEUM, CHELTENHAM.

CHAPTER VIII.

DIRECT SCRIPTURAL PROOF OF THE ORIGIN OF ALPHABETIC WRITING—
 OBJECTIONS TO THIS PROOF STATED AND ANSWERED—CORROBORA-
 TION OF THIS PROOF THROUGH THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE SUPPLIED
 BY THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND STYLE OF EXPRESSION EMPLOYED IN THE
 HEBREW TEXT—THE BOOK OF JOB PROVED TO HAVE BEEN ORIGI-
 NALLY WRITTEN IN HIEROGLYPHS—BRIEF CONSIDERATION OF SOME
 PHILOLOGICAL QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF THIS SUBJECT.

IF alphabetic writing be not an invention of man, it must be a miraculous gift to him from God. This consideration necessarily leads us to search for its origin in the Bible—in which alone is any authentic account of miracles to be found—and particularly in the Pentateuch, as being the very oldest book alphabetically written of those which have reached our times.^a But the author of the Pentateuch does not mention any use of letters before his own time, and therefore it most probably began with himself. Had the knowledge of alphabetic writing been previously conveyed to man, we have reason to think that Moses would have recorded the fact; for, in the case of arts of far less importance, and, under the present point of view, of far less interest, as having been arrived at without the aid of any miraculous interposition, he has noticed their commencement. Thus he has specified who were the inventors of tent-making; playing on stringed and wind instruments of music; working in brass and iron, &c. &c.

We are not however confined to mere negative reasons for fixing here the termination of our search. That Moses was the

^a It is possible that the book of Job may be older; but it is also possible that it was originally composed in hieroglyphs, and afterwards transcribed by Moses into alphabetic writing. Some reasons in favour of the probability of this supposition shall presently be given.

first who made use of alphabetic writing, and that the perception of its nature was a gift miraculously conferred on him, may, I apprehend, be positively collected from his own narrative. He does not indeed dwell upon the circumstance, or boast of it—this would not have been in keeping with his conduct in other instances—but he has left us materials, from which the inference can be drawn with a very high degree of probability. Let us compare with each other the accounts he has given us of the two sets of tables of stone, on which the commandments were written. Of the first set he tells us, that “they were written with the finger of God.”—Ex. xxxi. 18, and Deut. ix. 10; and again, that “the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables.”—Ex. xxxii. 16. Now I take it for granted, that this miraculous writing was not inferior to the kind which Moses afterwards employed in transmitting to us the sacred history, and therefore that it must have been alphabetic. This being admitted, it is certain he understood letters on the delivery of the tables to him—otherwise those tables would have been, in reference to his apprehension, quite unintelligible and useless—and it is equally certain that he was not acquainted with their use before; for if he had a previous knowledge of them, he would have been directed to write on the tables with his own hand. Of this we may be sure, not only from observing the general conduct of Providence towards mankind, in never working a miracle without a necessity for it; but also from attending in particular to God’s dealing with Moses in the remainder of this very transaction. For, after the first set of tables had been delivered to him, from which time it is evident that he understood this species of writing; when the breaking of the set rendered it necessary that they should be replaced by others, we find him ordered to write the second set himself. “And the Lord said unto Moses, write *thou* these words,”—Ex. xxxiv. 27, “and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.”—Ex. xxxiv. 28. Since then he had not the knowledge of letters before the delivery to him of the first

set of tables, and had it immediately after; the conclusion is inevitable, that it must have been communicated to him on that occasion, when the letters were exhibited to him in a miraculous manner, or as he himself twice expresses it, when the tables were delivered to him "written with the finger of God."

In opposition to this view of the case it cannot now be urged, that the Egyptians were acquainted with the use of letters before the age of Moses. In fact there is no trace of a national alphabet belonging to them before the third century of the Christian era; and they had not, as I hope the reader is by this time fully satisfied, phonetic signs of any kind till long after the Pentateuch was written. The futility, therefore, of their claim to the first alphabetic characters need not be farther insisted on. But as a similar claim has been made for the priority of Assyrian letters, I shall briefly examine the grounds on which it is maintained. These may be reduced to, 1. the testimony of ancient authors; 2. the great antiquity of astronomy and astrology in Chaldea. Under the first head nothing is brought forward worthy of the least notice except the following passage of Pliny: "*Litteras semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse.*"—*Natur. Hist.* lib. vii. c. 56. Now certainly the authority of the Roman naturalist is not to be lightly rejected upon any subject which can be fairly considered to have come within the reach of his judgement. But in the present instance it may be observed that, 1. by his use of language, which would seem to aver the eternity of letters, he admits their origin to have long preceded any authentic records to which he had access; 2. he does not pretend to give any testimony on the point in question, but merely expresses an opinion; and 3, that opinion is not a very decided one, as he thinks it right to subjoin two others, in the following words, which come immediately after those just quoted from him: "*Sed alii apud Ægyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius: alii apud Syros repertas volunt.*" And the last of the three, I may add, rather favours the supposition of the use of letters

having originated among the Jews—a remark in which I am supported by the concurrence of Eusebius.^a

Under the second head the following argument is principally relied on by the learned Bishop Walton; but for which circumstance indeed I should not consider it deserving of any attention. Simplicius, in a passage of his commentary on Aristotle's treatise respecting the heavens, states, upon the testimony of Porphyry, that the astronomical observations which Callisthenes had sent from Babylon, by order of Aristotle, extended back nineteen hundred and three years. From this it is inferred that the Babylonians must have had the use of letters before the age of Moses, and even before that of Abraham.^b Now putting out of view how very doubtful is the authority of Porphyry, and how doubtful also is that of the Babylonish astronomers in asserting such a remoteness of their first observations as would make them out coeval with the building of the tower of Babel, and even supposing for a moment that their tables really extended back so far; yet with all these concessions the great an-

^a 'Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σύρους γράμματα ἐπινοῆσαι λέγουσι πρώτους· Σύροι δ' ἂν εἶεν καὶ Ἑβραῖοι, τὴν γείτονα Φοινίκης, καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Φοινίκην, μετέπειτα δὲ Ἰουδαίαν, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Παλαιστίνην ονομαζομένην, οἰκοῦντες.—EUSEBII *Præparatio Evangelica*, lib. x. c. 5.

^b Apud Simplicium etiam legimus Comment. 46. in Arist. lib. i. de Cælo; observationes astronomicas quas Callisthenes e Babylone Aristotelis jussu miserat, fuisse annorum mille nongentorum trium, quas refert Porphyrius ad Alexandri Macedonis tempora servatas fuisse. Harum vero initium erat paulo ante Turris Babylonicæ structuram, et circa annos ducentos ante natum Abrahamum.—apud Assyrios literarum usum fuisse longo tempore ante Mosem supra ostendimus—jam probavimus literas apud Assyrios fuisse ducentis saltem annis ante natum Abrahamum.—WALTONI *Prolegomena*, p. 7.

The passage to which the bishop refers, is to be found in the commentary of Simplicius, not on the first, but on the second book of Aristotle's treatise; and is thus rendered in the old Latin translation: “—propterea quod nondum quæ a Callisthene ex Babylone missæ fuerunt observationes deveniant in Græciam (Aristotele hoc objiciente ipsi), quales narrat Porphyrius esse annorum mille et nongentorum trium usque ad tempora Alexandri Macedonis salvatas.”

tiquity claimed for the Chaldean letters would not be established, as such tables could have been constructed without letters, merely with the aid of numerical figures and celestial signs. And a similar answer might be given to all arguments of this description which are derived from the records of profane history: they rest chiefly on the great age of astrology, astronomy, and other sciences in the East; and undoubtedly they go far to prove the early use among the Chaldeans and other ancient nations of some sort of graphic signs, but not necessarily of alphabetic ones.

I shall next consider the arguments which Scripture may possibly be thought to supply against the inference above drawn from the narrative of Moses. And here the remarkable exclamation of Job will, no doubt, occur to the reader, and is naturally presented to our notice: "Oh, that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!"—xix. 23, 24. As Job in this passage speaks of such writing as is expressive of words, it is very commonly inferred that he understood the use of alphabetic characters, or at least of some kind of phonetic signs; and even Sir Isaac Newton took this view of the subject, as may be perceived by the following extracts from his *Chronology*: "When the Edomites fled from David with their young king Hadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither also the use of letters: for letters were then in use among the posterity of Abraham in Arabia Petræa, and upon the borders of the Red Sea, the Law being written there by Moses in a book, and in tables of stone, long before: for Moses marrying the daughter of the prince of Midian, and dwelling with him forty years, learnt them among the Midianites: and Job, who lived^a among their neighbours the Edomites, mentions the writing down of words, as there in use in his days, Job, xix. 23, 24; and there is no instance of letters for writing down sounds, being in use before the days of David, in any other na-

^a Augustin. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 47.

tion besides the posterity of Abraham. The Egyptians ascribed this invention to Thoth, the secretary of Osiris; and therefore letters began to be in use in Egypt in the days of Thoth, that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe.”—4to Edit. p. 210. “These Edomites carry to all places their Arts and Sciences; amongst which were their Navigation, Astronomy, and Letters; for in Idumæa they had Constellations and Letters before the days of Job, who mentions them: and there Moses learnt to write the Law in a book.”—p. 12.

Here at the very outset I must observe, that from Moses having learned letters in Idumæa, it does not at all follow that he was taught their use by the inhabitants of that district. There is at least a possibility of his having acquired the information in another way, and whether he actually did otherwise acquire it, is the very question at issue. Perhaps I have here put a wrong construction on the words of Sir Isaac, and I am most ready to suppose myself mistaken, rather than attribute inconclusive reasoning to this great philosopher. But at any rate if he has not given the above assigned reason for a knowledge of letters existing among the Midianites before the age of Moses, he has given no reason at all for it; and on either supposition the claim for them of such antecedent knowledge entirely falls to the ground.^a

^a “The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended,” was written by Sir Isaac Newton at an advanced period of life, and consequently does not afford a fair criterion of his prodigious talents; neither is it fair to estimate those talents, as it is now too much the fashion to do, by comparing the present state of physical science with that in which he left it. Undoubtedly since his time many valuable results from his discoveries in natural philosophy have been arrived at, and considerable improvements in the mode of calculation invented by him have been made; and the French, who have chiefly contributed to those results, and given the first impulse to those improvements, are thereby entitled to great credit. But however highly gifted the men of science in that nation may be—and no one can study the writings of La Grange, of La Place, of Poisson, without admiring the clearness with which they treat

For two of the errors contained in the above extracts our author is not to be blamed. The proofs, founded on irresistible evidence—1. that the phonetic system of the Egyptians was totally foreign from the alphabetic writing of the descendants of Abraham; that in fact it had not an Asiatic, but an European origin; and, 2. that it did not commence till long after the introduction of letters into Greece—these proofs have been deduced from a discovery only lately made, and of which he could not have had the remotest idea. But the point here principally to be considered is the inference deduced by him from the passage he quoted from Job; an inference which he certainly would not have drawn if he had at all studied the subject, for there is no difficulty to which the human intellect is equal that he could not have mastered, if he had turned his attention to it; and the one before us is of so trivial a nature that it could not have caused him any embarrassment, if it had occurred to him to reflect on the nature of ideagraphic reading. It is true that hieroglyphs immediately denote only ideas, and that to a person reading to himself they denote nothing else; but when he reads out, they necessarily lead him to the words that are in his language connected with those ideas; and if he be in the habit of so reading, then the ideagraphic characters come to be for a time as firmly associated in his mind with words, as if they had been in their immediate signification phonetic. Thus 365 might, by the force of habit, come to signify the words expressing the number of days in a year, in the mind of a person who was not acquainted with a method of more immediately

on difficult subjects, and the splendid powers of investigation which they display—yet I must say, that not one of these writers, not even the one I have first named, can bear a comparison with Newton, or be classed in the same rank with him. In the career of physico-mathematical discovery he has absolutely *distanced* every candidate for scientific fame who has as yet appeared in the field. Were there any room for doubt respecting this fact, I should not presume to offer an opinion on the subject; and my only reason for considering it necessary to assert the real state of the case is, because the works of Sir Isaac are not at present so generally read by the learned as they formerly were.

and directly denoting those words; and as an alphabetic reader speaks of the groups of letters "three hundred and sixty-five," as if they were the words themselves of which they really are only the signs, so the person just described would speak of the combination 365. From the mere statement, then, that the "words" expressing the above-mentioned number were written down, it cannot be determined in which way they were written. If indeed it were known beforehand that the person making the statement was himself an alphabetic writer, then from his using the term "words," it might very fairly be inferred that he was speaking of alphabetic writing. But to meet the case before us, such previous knowledge cannot be conceded, for this would be tantamount to taking for granted the very point under discussion. To any one who has turned over the preceding pages, I should hope this brief illustration of the subject will be sufficient. In fact the exclamation of Job leaves the question totally undecided, and consequently still open to investigation through other means, whether it was to ideagraphic or phonetic writing that he was alluding; and from the expressions therein used by him, we might just as fairly infer that he was acquainted with printed books,^a as that he understood the nature of alphabetic characters. But with his claim to the knowledge of letters falls that of the people from whom he is supposed by Sir Isaac to have learned them; and therefore no ground has been established for the Edomites having had that knowledge before the days of Moses.

If from the history of Job we proceed to the Pentateuch, we

^a From comparing the English translation with the original, it is evident that by "printed" (which corresponds with וידקן in the Hebrew) is meant "imprinted (with a graving tool) or insculped;" and that the word is not at all intended to convey the idea that Job was speaking of a *printed* book in the modern sense of the term. By the way, from this interpretation (which is probably the correct one) of Job's expression, it would appear, that the materials of which books were formed in his day must have been of a very clumsy nature; and that what he considered a book would at present hardly be so called.

shall find that no stress can be laid on the arguments which are thence deduced in proof of alphabetic characters being older than the writing on the tables of Testimony. The mention made of a book in Num. xxi. 14. is nothing to the purpose; for the second event referred to, as recorded in that book, namely, the passage of the river Arnon by the Israelites previous to their victory over the Amorites, did not take place till towards the close of the life of Moses, nearly forty years after the time I have assigned to the origin of letters. Neither is an earlier date made out for the employment of them by the circumstance of Moses relating God's command to him to "write for a memorial in a book,"—Ex. xvii. 14, before he describes the delivery to him of the tables, viz. on occasion of the victory over the Amalekites. For the very next event related in the history of the Israelites, is their arrival at Mount Sinai; and the command may not have been given till after that arrival, though the historian, in the order of his narrative, records it before, in immediate connexion with the transaction which gave rise to it. The same observation may be applied with still more force to the directions to grave on the plate of pure gold the words "Holiness to the Lord,"—Ex. xxviii. 36; and on the two onyx-stones, the names of the twelve tribes of Israel,—Ex. xxviii. 9, 10; for these directions were not given till after Moses had actually ascended the mountain; and there is no necessity for assuming, that the events which took place on its summit are related by him in the exact order of their occurrence. However, even if it were conceded that the above directions were given to Moses, before he received the tables, all that could be thence inferred would be, that he had a previous knowledge of some kind of writing, but not necessarily of such as was alphabetic. This writing might have been only hieroglyphic, learned by him from the Egyptians; and he would at first understand the commands in reference to the graphic system with which he was already acquainted; though, as soon as he was taught an immeasurably superior method of recording words, he would of course avail himself of that method in obeying the divine injunctions.

Having now proved the miracle, and removed every objection that I can find or conceive to be made against it, from either sacred or profane documents, I hope I shall be excused for suspending the course of my argument a moment, to consider the occasion on which this miracle was performed. And here surely, if any where, we must admit there existed—the *dignus vindice nodus*—a noble and sufficient cause for an extraordinary interposition of divine power. Whoever reflects on the nature of writing, such as man is able by his own contrivance to produce, must see that, although ideagraphy may answer well enough for the purposes of present communication, it is totally inadequate to supplying a permanent record.^a In fact

^a If ever, under any circumstances, ideagraphy could have produced a lasting record, it would have done so in its employment by the Chinese, in consequence of the nature of their language affording peculiar facilities for the purpose; yet even in this case it has failed. The way in which the Mandarins of China accounted to the Missionaries for their want of such records is amusing enough. *There was once a time*, it seems, when a Chinese emperor caused all the books in the empire, except those about law and physic, to be burned, and had the learned men buried alive, lest from their memories they should commit afresh to writing the annals of China. It is really astonishing how this account could ever have got a moment's credit, involving, as it does, three monstrous improbabilities. According to the representation here made, 1. the learned men, who virtually had the government in their hands, became their own executioners; 2. a sovereign formed the wish to destroy all vestige of the history of his country; 3. he succeeded in accomplishing his wish, and in enforcing an order which the most powerful government on earth, cordially supported, instead of opposed, by its more influential agents, could not have carried into complete execution. For all men are attached to the history of their forefathers, and if the records containing such history in the instance under consideration, had really continued legible, some of the more interesting volumes would have been concealed at the time, and when, after the storm of persecution was over, their loss began to be regretted, they would have reappeared. The true cause of the want of ancient records was kept in the back ground by the Mandarins, because they wished to conceal from the Missionaries, as well as from the Chinese public, a very decisive proof of the great imperfection of their graphic system. From the exception they made in their story, it is evident that legal and medical books continue longer legible than any others in China; and this is exactly what might be expected from the nature of Chinese writing. For law (the human

an ideagraphic record can be depended on as an accurate medium of information, only just as long as oral tradition could—not one instant longer. Had then Moses been left to commemorate, through means of human invention, the revelation made to him on Mount Sinai, the benefits of it would have been confined to a few generations of our fallen race. But the mercy of the Creator is over all his works, and extends to the most distant ages of the world. This is the true cause to which is to be ascribed the miraculous origin of letters; which were made to accompany the delivery of the divine law, in order to perpetuate the advantages of so great a blessing to the children of men.

From the account of this miracle transmitted to us by Moses, and now, I hope, explained to the reader's satisfaction, it appears that, not only is the Bible the word of God, but also that the very writing in which that word is conveyed to us is essentially "the writing of God," "written with the finger of God;" it is derived from writing which He miraculously impressed upon the mind of his prophet, for the very purpose of extending to us, and every succeeding age, as long as time shall last, the means of gaining that knowledge which leadeth to salvation. Great indeed and innumerable are the other advantages which we owe to the instrumentality of alphabetic writing; for whatever information we possess above that of the wretchedly ignorant Chinese has been through it acquired: but the greatest of all the advantages it originates, or benefits it promotes—far greater indeed than all the rest combined—is that it serves to guard from extinction the knowledge of true religion. And this—be it recollected—this was the primary and immediate purpose for which the heavenly gift of letters was conferred on man.

law I mean, which unfortunately is far more attended to than the divine) and physic are frequently objects of men's thoughts; and therefore the association between any particular sign which may be selected, and the thing thereby signified, lasts longer in the case of these than of other subjects.

It remains for me here to notice certain peculiarities of Hebrew orthography and style of expression which I wish to place before the reader's view in connexion with the present subject. This joint consideration will, I expect, answer a double end: it will supply evidence of the strongest kind—internal evidence derived from the nature of the writing itself—in support and confirmation of the construction which I have put upon the words of Moses respecting the above miracle; and it will also serve to account for the peculiarities in question, which have never hitherto been satisfactorily explained, because they have never before been brought home to their true cause.

The first of the properties to which I allude is, that when a combination of words in Hebrew is pronounced as one term, it is written as such, and the component parts are completely blended, so as to form only a single word. In all languages this blending takes place more or less in speaking, but it is generally avoided in writing; or even when a combination is written as pronounced, the elisions are marked by apostrophes, and the component words are kept distinct in the mind: as may be observed, for instance, in the expressions, *you're right*; *what's this*? Or if we take the last example in French, in which the words, in speaking, run more into one another, it will afford a stronger illustration of what I mean. The same question is in this language expressed in six words, *que est ce, que ce est*, written *qu'est ce, que c'est*, and pronounced *quesqueces* (or, according to the English mode of denoting the same collection of articulate sounds, *kesskěsay*). Here then, to meet the case before us, let us suppose a Frenchman, totally ignorant of letters, to be by a miracle suddenly made acquainted with the French powers of the Roman characters, and enabled to combine them in writing; and let us consider how would he, upon this supposition, pen the above interrogatory? Is it not plainly evident, that, unless a second miracle were superadded to prevent his doing so, he would write the combination as he had been in the habit of pronouncing it, *quesqueces*, or perhaps *quesquce*, but certainly as one word, and not as six? Now this

is precisely what takes place in the writing of Hebrew and the languages thence derived, the effect continuing after the original cause of the peculiarity had ceased. I do not here so much refer to the amalgamation of the root of a Hebrew verb with a preformative or afformative indicating the person of the agent; because this is common to the writing of a great variety of languages unconnected with each other. But I more particularly speak of the still further process of incorporation, by which the personal pronoun, used objectively after the verb, is also absorbed into that verb, whence constituting the termination of the new word it is technically called its *affix*; as also of that by which the possessive pronoun is incorporated into the noun with which it is connected, and thence likewise called its affix.

Should it here occur to any one that the phenomena just described have been adequately accounted for by the assigned cause only in the case of the writings of Moses; it is to be observed, that never was a human being more venerated by his countrymen than this prophet was, and that in consequence the style introduced by him was closely imitated by all the succeeding Hebrew writers. This is very decidedly proved by the fact, that although Hebrew continued a living language for nine hundred years after his time, yet there is scarcely more variation of orthography in the different parts of the Hebrew Scriptures than if they had been written by different authors in the same year. Part of this wonderful identity is indeed to be attributed to a cause (of which the remotest suspicion has not been hitherto entertained) which shall be explained in my next publication; but the remaining part is quite sufficient to establish the reality of the imitation in question, and thereby to account for the continuation through the subsequent Hebrew compositions of the peculiarities which are found in the Pentateuch.

As the old MSS. were written *uno ac perpetuo ductu*, without any marks of pauses between the sentences, or any separation between the words, so that long passages in them have the appearance of forming but a single word; it may possibly be thought that the semblance of junction between affix and

governing term arises merely from the modern way of grouping the letters. But the fact is, this junction is indicated, not simply by the present mode of printing the text, but still more by the actual elision of part of the pronominal affix, and is known in the same manner as it is in the case of affirmatives or preformatives.

There is but one more objection that occurs to me against the force of the inference which has been here drawn from the peculiarity under consideration. The same peculiarity, with respect to affixes, is observable in the Coptic, which is neither in its words nor in the mode of writing them derived from Hebrew. But although in those instances in which the powers of Greek and Hebrew characters are directly contrasted with each other, the phonetic use of hieroglyphs has common properties with the former class, clearly marking out for it an European rather than an Oriental origin; yet we should recollect, that above 700 years intervened between the commencements of the phonetic and alphabetic systems of the Egyptians, during great part of which interval they had much intercourse with the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine. Hence it is probable, that after having originally derived the powers of their first of phonetic characters from the Greeks, they subsequently modified the use made by them of their second or alphabetic set by what they observed of eastern practice. Indeed if it was not for this cause, and if they had attended to no foreign method of writing but that of the Greeks, it would be quite unaccountable that, in the long space of 1100 years, during which they were employing phonetic signs before the Arabian invasion, they should not, with the advantages of a Greek origin of their system and Greek instruction, have arrived at the full and perfect use of consonant and vowel, which certainly they never did. Besides the influence of Asiatic intercourse upon their final graphic system is positively shown by the introduction of letters of *h* power into that system; for it is quite obvious that Greek orthography could not by any possibility have suggested to them the expression of aspirations by means of letters. It may then, I conceive,

be fairly concluded that the Coptic mode of writing affixes was derived from Shemitic example; and until the same peculiarity, holding to the same extent, be found in the writing of a people who can be proved not to have derived it directly or indirectly from the same source, the Hebrew phenomenon here canvassed must stand prominently forward in proof of letters having been learned instantaneously, and therefore miraculously, by the writer of the Pentateuch.

But to probe the case to the bottom, it will be necessary to take into account whatever can be ascertained to have been peculiar in the mode of expression or of thought to which this writer was habituated, at the time when the knowledge of letters is supposed to have been miraculously impressed upon his mind. Now we are informed that "Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,"—Acts, vii. 22, consequently he was a practised hieroglyphic writer. And if he was not equally practised from an early age in alphabetic writing, by learning it gradually through human instruction (as he would have done through his connexion with the Israelites, if a knowledge of letters had previously existed among that people); then some trace of the distinguishing properties of the former method of graphic communication must be discoverable in his phraseology. The consideration of this circumstance opens out a second class of criteria, whereby the correctness of the view which I have taken of his narrative respecting the tables of the law, may be put to the test. And here again the very peculiarities are presented to our notice in the Bible, which might be expected from a writer placed in his supposed situation, and which, I apprehend, cannot be accounted for in any other way but by that very situation. These peculiarities may be reduced to two heads, in reference to, 1. the style of writing; and 2. the nature of the poetry; which are observable in the Pentateuch, and thence throughout the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures, and indeed universally in Shemitic compositions.

Under the first head, a reference to the observations which have been made on the lines of the Rosetta inscription exhibited

in Plate III., and in particular on group No. 7, will serve to point out a very marked difference as to clearness of expression between hieroglyphic and alphabetic writing. The characteristic defect of the former consists in the omission of subordinate signs more or less requisite to rendering the meaning precise and determinate; and if we had the means of deciphering any older legend than that of which part is contained in the above-mentioned plate, we should find such defect still more striking. Suppose then a person not to arrive at a knowledge of letters till after he had been long in the habit of writing in this manner, and let us consider the effect upon his alphabetic composition thence likely in the natural course of events to be produced. Undoubtedly he would be delighted at the superiority he found in the new mode of expressing his thoughts, and would, as far as he was able, avail himself of that superiority in the increased precision and fulness of his written expressions. But it is equally certain that, without the interposition of a miracle specially to prevent it, part of his old habit would adhere to him, and he would, without being conscious of it, continue to make some of the omissions to which he had been accustomed in the course of his previous graphic practice. Still farther it is plain, with respect to the nature of those omissions, that being unintentional they would be, comparatively speaking, unimportant, and such as might be easily supplied by a due attention on the part of the reader to the context.

Now whoever looks into the Bible will find, no matter at what page he may open it, numerous omissions—omissions just such as I have been describing—and to satisfy himself on this point it is not necessary that he should understand Hebrew, it will be sufficient for him to observe the words printed in the English Bible in *Italics*, as these words have none corresponding to them in the original Scriptures; and it is for the very purpose of pointing this out to notice that they are distinguished by a different character from that employed in the rest of the text; so faithfully has our translation been made. At the same time I must add, that the critical Hebrew scholar will find the

number of omissions still greater than are thus indicated, as some of the less important ones have not been characterized in the above-mentioned manner. However quite enough is placed before the view of the English reader to show him the true nature of the case, and impress upon him a very curious and interesting fact, which is, I may observe, in all its bearings perfectly consistent with the natural consequences of the situation in which Moses has from other considerations been proved to have been placed.

But perhaps it may be contended that the fact in question can be otherwise accounted for. Let us inquire then how this is attempted to be made out. If it be stated that omissions are very prevalent in the eastern mode of expression—so prevalent indeed as to be thence called *Orientalisms*—this may be at once admitted, but the difficulty is not thereby explained; it is only shifted to another ground, and the relation of causality is implied between the two subjects in an order in which it could not possibly hold. For we might just as rationally suppose that a river could flow back towards its source, as that the peculiarities of style in the oldest eastern composition now to be met with, could have had any effect on the phraseology of the Bible; the sacred volume being far older than any of those compositions. If it be supposed that the omissions in question are occasioned by any poverty in the original language, there never was a greater mistake: the Hebrew is, on the contrary, exceedingly copious, and admits of great richness and variety of expression. But even if this supposition were true, it would not account for the circumstance under discussion; as will be instantly perceived by considering the nature of the omitted words, which are mostly terms of very common use, such as even the poorest language must necessarily include. Thus, for instance, when it is written, “And God said, let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry —— appear:” or, “Surely every man walketh in a vain show; surely they are disquieted in vain: he heapeth up —— and knoweth not who shall gather them:” no one can be at a loss for the words to be

supplied; the context evidently points them out, and terms of their signification are to be found in probably every language in the world.

But the ellipsis which most frequently occurs in the Scriptures is made by the omission of the verb *to be* in some or other of its various inflexions; and it deserves to be remarked, that this is precisely the very ellipsis which might be most expected from a person who had been in the habit of hieroglyphic writing. Indeed if the matter be duly considered, it will be found excessively difficult hieroglyphically to denote the verb *to be*. For what can be conceived to constitute its descriptive noun except the very identical thing whose existence is to be expressed? But the analogy of the formation of other hieroglyphic verbs would require this noun to be something distinct from the subject of the proposition, and which might equally be employed in expressing the existence of any other subject. Accordingly it may be perceived, by reference to group No. 68 of Plate III., that although the context there evidently shows the meaning to be, "wherever shall be a royal statue of king Ptolemy," yet there certainly is no sign in that group for the expression "shall be." In the Scriptures, however, the omissions of this kind cannot be accounted for in the same way; for the sacred writers, it is quite evident, had no difficulty in expressing the verb in question, as they actually did very often express it. But the situation in which it has been proved the first of those writers was placed, completely accounts for the phenomenon; and in all probability it never can be accounted for in any other way; certainly the only cause which has been as yet assigned for it, is quite inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The explanation to which I allude is that attempted by the Rabbinical commentators, and is as follows. When Moses inquired by what name he should designate the Almighty to the Israelites, the answer made to him was, "And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you."—Ex. iii. 14. From the name thus appropriated to the Supreme Being, it is

inferred, that the prophet must have felt the highest veneration for the expression, *I am* ; and it is assumed that it was this feeling which made him abstain from the use of the verb *to be*. But in reply to this mode of explaining the matter it may be observed, in the first place, that the hypothesis is put forward without a shadow of proof, and that even if it were true, it would account for the disuse of only one single inflexion of the verb ; but indeed its truth is totally inadmissible, as the consideration of a very few cases will be quite sufficient to show. For surely respect for the words *I am* would not prevent Moses from applying them to the Almighty himself; yet he does omit them in reference to the Creator, as well as to created beings. Thus, for instance, God is represented as saying to Jacob, “ I—God, the God of thy father,”—Gen. xlv. 3 ; and to Moses, “ I—the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt ;” and, “ For I the Lord thy God—a jealous God.”—Ex. xx. 1, 5. The assumed cause of the ellipsis is quite inadequate to its explanation in sentences of this kind, as is evident not only from the intrinsic nature of the case, but also from the subsequent graphic practice of the Jews, which was regulated and formed on the model of that of Moses. If therefore it was a feeling of veneration which caused the above specified omissions, this feeling would have operated in the same way upon the writing of the Jews who translated the Pentateuch into Greek, and we might expect to find the same omissions in the corresponding places of the Septuagint version. But in every one of these places the verb is inserted, the three passages being : Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου.—Ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, ὅστις ἐξήγαγόν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.—Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, θεὸς ζηλωτῆς. And this observation applies with still greater force to the New Testament, because we know more about the character of the writers of it than of that of the translators of the old one. Thus we know of St. Paul that he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, of the strictest sect a Pharisee, being more exceedingly zealous of

the traditions of his fathers—Acts, xxvi. 5, and Gal. i. 14; and we may be sure that any respect which he in consequence felt for certain words, occasionally employed in the designation of the Most High, would not be lessened by his conversion to Christianity. Yet we find him speaking of himself in the following terms, “But by the grace of God, *I am what I am* ;” (Ἐγώ ὃ εἰμι)—1 Cor. xv. 10. Surely if he had any respect for these words, independently of the subject to which they referred, he never would have thus applied them to himself. And if he who so zealously imbibed the sentiments of his forefathers entertained not this notion, neither can we rationally suppose that Moses was influenced by it, and some other cause for his making the omissions in question must be looked for. Under this head I have only to add, that, according to the theory which I have advanced, and, I trust, substantiated, the rarer occurrence of any such ellipsis in the New Testament is easily explained by the growing familiarity of the Jews with a style of writing quite foreign from hieroglyphic composition; whereas the circumstance is totally inexplicable on the ground which has been just discussed. For it would be absolutely absurd to suppose the writers of the New Testament had less respect for any name of the Almighty than those of the old one had; or that an increased familiarity with Greek writing could have in any way lessened that respect.

But, in the second place, the expression I AM, in the original of the quoted passage is literally *I will be*, and, according to a peculiar use which is sometimes made of the future tense in Hebrew, it is there employed without restriction to any particular time. If therefore respect for this word had prevented Moses from using the expression *I am*, it would likewise have made him abstain from *I was*, or *I will be*; but it certainly did not produce this effect. For instance, he makes Jacob apply the first of these inflections of the verb to himself in speaking to Laban.—Gen. xxxi. 40. Still further, the name by which God is peculiarly designated in the Bible, and by which, in allusion

to that just considered, he called himself to Moses in Ex. vi. 3, is יהוה (*Yehowa*); which, as well as the former one, expresses his existence at all times, but in its form has reference rather to the third than the first person, and is accordingly paraphrased by St. John, “Which is, and which was, and which is to come,” (ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος)—Rev. i. 8. Consequently if respect for a name of the Almighty had operated on the mind of the inspired historian in the manner that is supposed, it would have made him abstain from the inflections *he is, he was, he will be*, as well as from *I am*; but here again observation refutes the consequence, and therefore the supposition from which it is drawn. Moses applies the expression *will be* to Ishmael in Gen. xvi. 12; and there is not an expression more commonly used in the Hebrew text than the form, *and it will be*; which, by a peculiar force of the conjunctive prefix in this language, comes to denote a mixed tense in which the preterite predominates, and literally signifies *and it afterwards was*, whence it is translated in our version, *and it came to pass*.

A more plausible way of partly accounting for the phenomenon under consideration might, I think, be derived from the nature of the Hebrew tongue; in which there is, properly speaking, no present tense of the verb, the want of it being supplied by the participle present, or by the future tense used without restriction to any particular time. But the question here very naturally arises, whether this remarkable peculiarity of Hebrew and the derivative tongues be not a consequence rather than a cause of the phenomenon which it is adduced to explain. Certainly it is very hard to conceive that any language could have been originally without a proper present tense, and the dropping of it in the Shemitic tongues has never yet been traced to its source. While on the other hand the graphic practice of Moses being explained by the situation in which it has been proved that he was placed, does itself in turn account for this very deficiency; as Hebrew became a dead language before the derivative tongues arrived at the forms in which they appear in the oldest

compositions now extant in those tongues. However I merely throw out this suggestion for persons who may be fond of pursuing such inquiries; the point is, I admit, at present involved in obscurity, and I therefore do not wish to be considered as here laying any stress upon it. Even then supposing that the peculiarity in question existed in Hebrew before the time of Moses, and consequently exerted an influence upon his style of writing, this would account for his frequent omission of the verb expressive of existence only in one particular tense. His other numerous omissions of it can be explained solely by the circumstances under which it has been shown that he came to the knowledge of letters.

The adequacy of the cause to which the phenomenon has been here attributed, is proved not only by arguments derived from the immediate consideration of the subject, but also by one which analogy supplies, and which, I apprehend, is of a very striking nature. The Coptic versions of the Bible were made by men who had just emerged from the habit of hieroglyphic writing; and in these versions may be traced the very peculiarity under discussion, with sufficient variation of it to show that it was not derived from any imitation of the Jews. Indeed, independently of this circumstance, it is known that whatever community of thoughts or practice may have subsisted between the parties, could not have arisen out of mutual intercourse, as a deadly enmity prevailed at the time between them. Neither could the resemblance to which I allude be accounted for by their common acquaintance with the same Scriptures, for it was not from the Hebrew, but from the Greek of the LXX. that the Copts formed their translations of the Old Testament; and besides they in like manner omitted the verb in question in translating the New Testament, with the original before them directly opposed to such omissions. Of this I have selected two examples, the first of them from St. John, viii. 58, of which I subjoin the Greek text, together with both its Coptic versions placed in immediate juxta-position.

Εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω
 Πεχε Ἰη̅ς πωοτ: χε εεηνп εεηνп †χωεεεος^a
 Πεχε Ἰη̅ς πατ: χε εεεεηνп εεεηνп †χωεεεος
 ὑμῖν, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι.
 πωτεп: χε εεπατε Ἀβραεεε πωпи: εпок.
 пнтп: χε εεπατε Ἀβραεεε πωπε: εпок †πωоп.

The collocation of these verses will serve to show to a person not familiar with the Coptic language, that while in the Thebaic dialect is distinctly expressed, “before Abraham was, I am;” in the Memphitic, or principal one, there is only written, “before Abraham was, I——.” The omission in this latter dialect is a very remarkable one; because undoubtedly the Copts believed in the divinity of our Lord, and were very decided Anti-Arians.^b They must therefore have understood the words of

^a There is a curious diversity in the use made of the first letter of this compound. Before a noun, as has been already observed, it is the preformative of the feminine gender, whereas here before a verb it is a supplemental indication of the first person singular; and when it occurs by itself, it has yet another signification quite distinct from either of these. In the compound before us there is an affix as well as prefix, but the elision is principally made in the verb; whence, in conformity with the genius of the language, the final part of this combination, though only a pronoun, would appear to be employed as its most important and emphatic element; as if the expression had been, not simply, “I say it,” but “I say this very thing.” If I may venture to give a literal translation of the Coptic in very uncouth language, I believe the exact meaning of the fuller verse is word for word as follows: “Said Jesus to-them, that truly truly myself-say-*it* to-you, that before Abraham was, I myself-am.”

^b When the emperor Constantine the Great recalled Arius from banishment, and the council shortly after held at Tyre decreed that he should be reinstated in his privileges, and received again into the communion of the church; the people of Alexandria (who, from their geographic position, must have spoken the Memphitic, or northern dialect, and consequently have used the version of the Scriptures in which the omission under consideration occurs), unmoved by these proceedings in his favour, actually resisted the authority of both church and state, and refused to restore him a place among their presbyters.—See MOSHEIM's *Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. IV. Part II. chap. v.

Christ in the original Greek to denote his necessary and eternal existence, and yet in the version of more general use they omitted an expression for AM in a place where it was so emphatic; while even Moses had inserted such expression in the passage of the Old Testament, where it has a corresponding meaning.

The second example is taken from 1 Cor. i. 12; and immediately under the Greek original is placed its Coptic translation :

Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ
 Δποκ ρεπ Δποκ Φαπαυλος: Δποκ δε Δποκ
 Κηφᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.
 Φακηφα: Δποκ δε Δποκ Φαπχριστος.

The mode of expression here used is exceedingly curious. “I indeed, I a Paulite; and I, I a Cephaite; and I, I a Christian.” There is nothing exactly the same with this throughout the entire of the Hebrew Scriptures, though there is a vast deal having a general correspondence with it in the omission of the verb. The writer has here not only left out Coptic for *am*, but also shown a consciousness of his having done so by the substitution he made for it; indeed he could not avoid being aware of the circumstance, as he was not, like the author of the Pentateuch, framing an original composition, but merely translating the work of another; and the verb was actually placed before his view in that work at the very time that he was omitting it in his translation. Thus while the general correspondence of this passage with innumerable ones in the writings of Moses can be traced to the same general cause, the subordinate differences between them may be accounted for by the different situations of the two writers. The substitution here made presents, I conceive, some vestiges of the translator’s former hieroglyphic practice. We have before us, in place of the integral verb, the part of it which I have called the descriptive noun, for the pronoun repeated evidently supplies the office of that part; and the diffusiveness belonging to the hieroglyphic style may be

traced in the insertion of the substitute in every member of the sentence, while the verb whose place it takes is written in only the first member of the original passage.

The other peculiarity to which I would point attention, as growing out of the hieroglyphic education of Moses and proving that he knew nothing of letters till an advanced period of life, will be found in the nature of the poetry displayed in his writings and in those of the subsequent prophets. That poetry depends entirely on the *thoughts* it excites, and not in the remotest degree on the nature of the *words* by which those thoughts are expressed; it is (if I may be permitted to transfer the terms from their more appropriate significations) *ideagraphic*, not *phonetic*; it is in fact so far independent of language, that it will appear with the same beauty and force in every tongue into which the original is translated with simplicity and correctness. The Hebrew Psalter, for instance, does not contain one atom of rhyme, or metre, or versification of any kind whatever; it is as destitute of phonetic ornaments as its English translation; and yet is there any where to be met with such magnificent poetry as in the Hymns of David?^a When I have looked over the treatises of Bishops Lowth and Jebb on the poetry of the Scriptures, I have been truly astonished at finding these pious and learned prelates pass over the grand characteristic of that poetry to place its distinguishing feature in a very subordinate property indeed, in that of *parallelisms*. Certainly this figure of rhetoric is frequently employed in the pages of the sacred volume, but it also meets our view in the compositions, whether poetic or prosaic, of every writer who expresses himself with fulness and clearness on his subject. The works of Cicero, for instance, not merely his orations, but even his philosophic treatises, abound with parallelisms, and, to come nearer home for an illustration, so likewise do those of the late Dr. Johnson; yet those eloquent men were never considered

^a There is perhaps more of metaphor in the style of Job, but assuredly in sublimity of thought the Royal Psalmist is the first of all poets.

to be poets, and even should it be admitted that they were, surely their compositions are not, in reference to poetry, to be classed under the same head as those of David and of Job. To me it appears—if I may venture to offer an opinion on a subject in the analysis of which such eminent divines have failed—the essential qualities of Scripture poetry consist in sublimity of thought and in metaphor of thought.

I will endeavour to explain what I mean by an example. There is no subject more difficult to human apprehension than the omnipresence of God. By its abstruseness it baffles and eludes inquiry; or if it come at all within the sphere of our contemplation, it seems more suited to the study of the metaphysician than to the imagination of the poet. Yet what noble and delightful poetry has David brought to bear upon the point in his approach to this unfathomable attribute? “Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou—there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou— —I take the wings of the morning—dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right-hand shall hold me.” I shall not stop here to search, according to the theory of one of the divines to whom I have alluded, for parallels *synonymous, antithetic, or synthetic*; or according to that of the other, for parallels *cognate, antithetic, synthetic, or introverted*. Sure I am that if I had these distinctions ascertained with the nicest accuracy, I should not thereby approach one single step nearer to the real beauties of the passage. Indeed some of those beauties are so conspicuous, and are so forcibly presented to the imagination, that it is astonishing how they could ever have been overlooked. There are others however less prominent, which, notwithstanding, are of a yet higher order. On directing our attention to the subject, we may probably be first struck with the boldness of the metaphoric train of thought, and the richness and aptitude of the imagery by which it is sustained; but we shall soon perceive that the passage is still more distinguished by its sublimity. For by leading our

thoughts from a natural attribute of the Deity to a moral one of the most endearing kind—his fatherly goodness—his providential care of his creatures—it is suited to excite in our minds the purest and the most exalted sentiments.

The sublimity of the Bible poetry is unquestionably to be traced solely and exclusively to the divine inspiration of the prophets; no compositions merely human could ever have reached that sublimity. But the unphonetic nature of this poetry, that is, I mean its independence of any harmony of sounds or modification of words, is clearly to be attributed to the habits of ideagraphic expression contracted by Moses before he had acquired the knowledge of letters; and the particular kind of hieroglyphs in which he was instructed—the Egyptian ones, which all consist of images—exactly correspond with, and fully account for, the second special characteristic of the sacred poetry—the highly imaginative and metaphoric turn of thought which pervades it. The combination of the two characteristics here noticed is now indeed very commonly found in oriental poetry, and even in the style of language employed in the east upon the most ordinary occasions; but its appearance in Hebrew compositions cannot be thence explained; for, as I have already observed in a similar case, this mode of reasoning would invert the order of time which must subsist between cause and effect. Neither can the phenomenon be attributed to our common nature, as it does not generally prevail through the poetry of nations. Men indeed are fond of metaphoric expressions, but when they indulge in these to any extent, they usually clothe them in metre, or rhyme, or verbal harmony of some kind or other.^a Until, then, the combination in question be found in

^a This is so much the case that Bishop Lowth, overlooking the prevailing practice of the east, considered the figurative nature of the language in parts of the Hebrew Bible a sufficient proof of those parts having been composed in metre. “Habet enim aliud Poesis Hebræa [his first proof, referred to in the word *aliud*, was the acrostic nature of the composition in a very few places in the Psalms, Proverbs, and Lamentations, in which the sentences commence with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet taken in their regular order] quod

poetic effusions totally unconnected in their origin with the east, I must hold its prevalence in Hebrew song as a peculiarity which is not only compatible with the cause that I have assigned for it, but also strongly indicative of the reality of that cause.

Here perhaps it may be objected that the Irish poetry unites the two characteristics under consideration; and, although I cannot assert it immediately from my own knowledge, yet I believe it to be the fact. For unless the poems of Ossian belong to the ideographic class, and consequently be in great measure independent of any peculiarity of language, it is scarcely conceivable that Macpherson could have exhibited them in so superb an English dress as that in which they now appear. There is no translation of any other uninspired composition which can vie with this in poetic beauty, and very few originals indeed there are to which it is not superior. But the union herein of a very high order of metaphor with language entirely destitute of metrical ornament does not supply an instance that in any respect weakens the force of my argument; because it is impossible to decide with certainty against an eastern origin of this poetry.

metricæ orationis omnino est proprium. Iis enim solummodo scriptoribus, qui certa quadam numerorum ac pedum moderatione sunt adstricti, ea licentia conceditur, ut vocibus utantur a communi loquendi usu ac lege discedentibus, et a linguæ analogia paulum detortis.”—*De Sacra Poesi Heb. Præl.* iii. And he endeavoured to meet the objection of the absence of any appearance of metre in the Hebrew text, by the assumption that we are now totally ignorant of the ancient mode of pronouncing the language. “Quod autem ad veros horum versuum numeros, ad rhythmum et modulationem attinet, id omne et penitus ignotum esse, et nulla unquam arte aut industria humana investigari posse, ex ipsa rei natura satis apparet: manifestum est antiquam et veram Hebraica pronuntiandi rationem omnino esse ignotam.”—*Ibidem.* Our ignorance of the ancient pronunciation hardly goes to the extent which is here assumed; but even if it did, it would not leave room for the possibility of the Bishop’s theory being true. For let powers be *ad libitum* attributed to the Hebrew letters; no matter what they may be, provided they are constant, so that the same character shall always have the same power; and whoever considers the irregularity of the combinations will plainly see that it is impossible by any powers whatever thus employed to get metrical harmony out of the original text.

There is a very ancient tradition of a Phœnician colony having formerly settled in Ireland; and, though I should not rely on that tradition alone, yet I can hardly resist it, supported as I find it to be by internal evidence of some weight, part of which is furnished by the very subject before us—the nature of the Irish poetry; while other parts are derived from sources which shall be noticed as occasion offers.

When the whole of the argument now submitted to the reader's judgement is duly weighed, I am in hopes it will be found quite decisive on the main point, namely, the nature and date of the origin of letters. From this argument it directly follows, that, if the book of Job be older than the Pentateuch, it must have been originally written in hieroglyphs; and the only doubt which the inference admits of, rests upon the possibility of a mistake as to the book's age. The most probable opinion, and that most generally maintained among the learned, is that the poem is more ancient (though not by many years) than the writings of Moses; and one of the grounds for this opinion may be considered as very nearly established, namely, that Job lived before the time of the Jewish legislator.^a But the other ground for the position, viz. that the work was written by Job himself, or by one of his cotemporaries, is obscured by a difficulty; with an effort to remove which I shall commence this discussion.

^a His cotemporary Eliphaz the Temanite (as is shown by Dr. Kennicott in his *Remarks on select Passages in the Old Testament*, p. 152), was only fifth, while Moses was sixth, in descent from Abraham; and his anteriority is proved by a variety of other circumstances, of which I shall allude only to one, viz. the great length of time (140 years) during which he lived after his restoration to prosperity; whence his whole life can hardly be computed to have lasted less than 200 years. However a priority for him cannot be insisted on fully proportioned to the difference between the ages of the two men; because the length of Job's life may have been, by a special blessing, extended beyond that of his cotemporaries. If allowance be made for this circumstance in estimating the ordinary duration of life in his time, it may not have exceeded the number of years (137) which Amram, the father of Moses, lived, with whom Dr. Kennicott supposed him to have been coeval.

That Job was an inspired prophet, and that the history of his afflictions which has been transmitted to us is an inspired composition, there is not the slightest room for doubting. No one but a prophet could possibly in his day have foretold the final advent of a Redeemer, and the resurrection of the body; besides he is held up to us in Scripture as an example for our imitation, and consequently his assertions must be relied on as true; but he has himself virtually declared his inspiration in the remarkable passage, xlii. 5.^a As to the book which goes by Job's name, St. Paul has quoted from it in 1 Cor. iii. 19, and prefaced his quotation by the words, *it is written*, the form of expression employed by him to intimate a reference to Holy Writ. But the difficulty connected with the subject is to determine who was the author of this book; upon which point the learned are much divided, and principally between these two opinions, 1. that it was written by the prophet whose name it bears; 2. that it was written by Moses. In favour of the first opinion, the fact that Job was inspired appears to be nearly conclusive. The greater part of the advantage to mankind arising out of a revelation made to him would have been lost, if he had not, either by his own hand, or, what comes to the same thing, by immediate dictation to an amanuensis, committed the subject to writing. It is impossible that any other human being could have equally well recorded the communications miraculously impressed on his mind, unless that other person was inspired for the purpose; that is, unless a second miracle was wrought in order to effect an object which could have been just as well accomplished by means of the first miracle alone—a supposition which the whole conduct of Providence, as far as it is known to us,

^a In this verse is given the declaration of Job, that he had seen the Almighty; but it was by visions miraculously impressed upon the mind that the divine communications were generally made to the prophets of old, Num. xii. 6; whence they were denominated *Seers*, 1 Sam. ix. 9. Thus Samuel called himself a Seer, 1 Sam. ix. 19; and Isaiah entitled his eminently prophetic book, "The Vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz."

renders quite inadmissible. Besides at the very time that Job delivered the extraordinary prophecy to which I have already alluded, he expressed in the strongest terms his anxiety to have it committed to writing. Hence it appears that he had both a knowledge of some graphic method of recording truths (or at least of the existence of such method), and also an anxious wish to make use of it. Can it then be rationally doubted but that, when restored to ease and prosperity, he put that wish in execution? In favour of the second opinion, the chief stress is laid on the close resemblance between certain passages in the book of Job and some which are to be met with in the poetic effusions of Moses. But I shall not detain the reader with a detail of the arguments adduced on either side, as they are already well known, and may be found in the writings of many learned authors. Indeed those arguments are so strong that I do not see how they can be resisted; and I should hold both opinions to be right even though I were unable to show that they were compatible with each other. The same view of the subject has also been taken by some of the most eminent divines, as is evident from their efforts to reconcile the two opinions; in which however they have not any of them succeeded.

Bishop Patrick, in the preface to his Commentary on the Book of Job, adopted an old tradition, that the language of the Patriarch was different from that of the Jews, and that the poem was translated by Moses into Hebrew. If this tradition were true it would fully solve the difficulty in question, but unfortunately it is totally inadmissible. I have already noticed how very little change took place in Hebrew during the 900 years that it continued a living language after the time of Moses. This undoubtedly is to be attributed principally to the veneration in which the Jewish legislator was held by his countrymen; but part of the effect must be laid to the account of the great fixedness and stability of the Shemitic languages. One of them, the Arabic, is yet spoken through extensive regions of the world, and now at a distance of near 4000 years from Abraham, it still retains a great number of words, and also the

grammatic inflexion of the verbs, the same as they are found in Hebrew. With such a permanence then, and approximation to immutability as these languages exhibit, is it to be supposed that in the short interval^a of five generations from Abraham a diversity of dialects in the different lines of his descendants could have proceeded so far as to disable them from understanding each other, or even that it could in that interval have yet commenced? Analogy is entirely against the supposition, and accordingly it is very generally rejected by the learned; of whom I shall here mention only Dr. Lowth, who though he attributed the writing of the book in its present form immediately to Job or one of his friends, yet insisted on the language of it being pure Hebrew.^b

Another attempt to reconcile the two opinions under consideration will be found in the notes of the very able work upon atonement and sacrifice written by the late Archbishop of Dublin. The passage to which I allude is as follows: “—— upon the whole, perhaps we may not unreasonably conjecture the history of the book to be this. The poem being originally written either by Job or some cotemporary of his, and existing in the time of Moses, might fall into his hands whilst residing in the land of Midian, or afterwards when in the neighbourhood of Idumæa; and might naturally be made use of by him to represent to the Hebrews, either whilst repining under their Egyptian bondage, or murmuring at their long wanderings in the wilderness, the great duty of submission to the will of God. The encouragement which the book holds out, that every good man, suffering patiently, will be finally rewarded, rendered it a

^a The length of the interval is here estimated by generations, not by years, because each individual who lived in this interval must be supposed to have spoken the same language during his whole life, whatever may have been the extent to which that life was prolonged.

^b Sermo est pure Hebræus, quanquam auctore, ut videtur, Idumæo; nam omnes Abrahami posteros, Israelitas, Idumæos, Arabas tum Keturæos tum Ishmaelitas, communi lingua diu usos fuisse veri est simillimum.—*De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælec.* xxxii.

work peculiarly calculated to minister mingled comfort and rebuke to the distressed and discontented Israelites, and which might therefore well have been employed by Moses for this purpose. *We may also suppose that Moses, in transcribing, might have made some small and unimportant alterations, which will sufficiently account for occasional and partial resemblances of expression between it and the Pentateuch, if any such there be. This hypothesis both furnishes a reasonable compromise between the opinions of the great criticks, who are divided upon the point of Moses being the author; and supplies an answer to a question of no small difficulty which hangs upon almost every other solution; namely, when, and wherefore, a book treating manifestly of the concerns of a stranger, and in no way connected with their affairs, was received by the Jews into their sacred canon? For Moses having thus applied the book to their use and sanctioned it by his authority, it would naturally have been enrolled among their sacred writings; and, from the antiquity of that enrolment, no record would consequently appear of its introduction.*—Vol. II. Part. I. pp. 82, 83.

Now although Moses would have been fully justified in modelling as he pleased the language of a document whose substance he was transferring into his own historic work, yet it is very hard to conceive that, in copying out the composition of another—particularly when that other was an inspired writer—he could have felt himself at liberty to make any alterations therein. I do not here speak of the prologue and epilogue of the poem, of which the latter certainly, and the former probably, was written by a different person from Job; but I allude to traces of the Mosaic style of expression to be found in the body of the work. That Moses introduced these passages into a copy which he made for the Israelites of an inspired writing, seems to be just as untenable a position as that Job composed his poem in a language different from Hebrew. Indeed from the hesitating manner in which the learned prelate gave his explanation, it appears that he was not himself quite satisfied with

it; for while, in order to effect the "reasonable compromise between the opinions of the great criticks," he conceded "that Moses, in transcribing, might have made some small and unimportant alterations;" he immediately after (as if startled by the consequences of his own act) retracted, or at least threw a doubt upon the concession, by the hypothetic form which he gave to the termination of the remaining part of the sentence, in the words "*if any such there be.*"^a But if Dr. Magee was unable to reconcile the two opinions, this object can hardly be

^a Hesitation to nearly the same extent, though not exactly on the same horn of the dilemma, may be traced in the writings of some of the most able of the commentators who preceded the archbishop. Michaelis sums up the substance of their opinions and his own, in the preface to his Commentary on Job, as follows: "Plerique Hebræi et Christiani doctores, quibus etiam Schmidius accedit, Mosem, ceu omnium consensione antiquissimum ex Canonicis Scriptoribus, in exilio suo Midianitico, quum per 40 annos in Arabia hæreret, hanc historiam, in istis terris nuper factam, *vel traditione vel scripto acceptam*, hac ipsa forma, qua eam legimus, Hebraicis litteris consignasse statuunt."—*Præf.* sec. vii. Of the alternative here marked in Italics, the first part is pressed with all the difficulties which embarrass the supposition of the book not having been written by Job himself or by some one under his dictation; and the second, by those which arise out of the assumption that Moses would venture to make alterations or additions in a work which he was giving to the Israelites, not as his own, but as that of another person, and of a person too who was inspired. There was no possible way of escaping from the first class of difficulties except by abandoning the idea, on which they rested, of a traditionary origin of the work; neither did the commentators in question attempt to get rid of the second class by the hypothesis of Job having originally written the work in a language different from Hebrew; for this hypothesis never was admitted generally by the learned. It is no wonder therefore that they should have felt themselves greatly perplexed and undecided between the two sides of the above alternative.

Upon the language of Job, Michaelis expresses himself as follows: "Jobus et ejus amici omnes ex Heberi posteris fuerunt; in cujus familia non modo Hebræum sermonem conservatum, sed et Arabicum primùm natum esse ex Bocharto constat.—Unde nec male D. Abrah. Hinckelmannus in procæmio dissert. de Theologia Jobæa: 'Quin nec ipsa Jobi,' inquit, 'et amicorum ejus ac Dei verba in Hebræo codice adhuc nobis exhiberi dubitamus; cum lingua Arabica Mosaicis temporibus, æque ac Canaanæa, parum omnino ad Hebræa discrepasse videatur.'"—*In librum Jobi Præfatio*, sec. viii.

deemed effectible by means of the *data* which he had before him; for in clearness and strength of intellect no writer that ever engaged in the investigation has been found his superior. Now, however, that the notion is suggested of the book of Job having been originally written in hieroglyphs, the difficulty may be easily and obviously cleared up (provided that notion be not proved *a priori* to be untrue, which it certainly cannot); for it is evident that in the alphabetic reading of a hieroglyphic record, just as much as in the translation of a work from a foreign language, the transcriber's own form of expression must occasionally appear, even without the slightest intention on his part to deviate from the original. Let us then consider how the argument in support of this medium of reconciliation at present stands. It has been shown to be at least possible that the two opinions in question may be both true; consequently the reasons adduced in favour of the second do not militate against the first; which in this respect therefore is placed upon a strengthened basis of probability. But if the first opinion be admitted, there is scarcely room for doubt in any of the succeeding steps of the proof; for if Job was author of the book, it was written before the time of Moses; consequently, before the origin of letters; consequently, in hieroglyphs.

The corroboration which this reasoning derives from the internal evidence supplied by the work itself, is of a very powerful kind: indeed now that a cause is pointed out to the observation of the reader which adequately accounts for some of the more remarkable features of the composition, I do not see how he can avoid the ascribing their production to that cause. Both the peculiarities of style which have been noticed in the writings of Moses—the elliptic form of expression, and the ideagraphic nature of the poetry—are here presented to us in a far more prominent and striking manner, than in any other part of the Hebrew Scriptures. On the very high strain of metaphor which pervades the poem, it is unnecessary for me to dwell; this distinguishing feature has already had full attention paid to it by almost every writer who has commented upon the book; and to

complete our view of this characteristic it is merely necessary to recollect, that there is not a particle of metrical euphony in the original, any more than in its English translation. But upon the other characteristic I have to observe, in proof of its great prominence in this poem, that while in the rest of Scripture an ellipsis or chasm in a sentence can generally be filled up by the separate consideration of the single verse in which it occurs, such means are not sufficient for the purpose in translating the book of Job. Thus for instance in the following verse, "Thy wickedness—a man as thou—and thy righteousness—the son of man," xxxv. 8, the omissions have, I apprehend, been correctly removed from the English version by the introduction of words which the sense requires, as will appear from a due consideration of the context in a whole series of preceding sentences; but no one, however learned or ingenious he may be, who looked to this verse alone in the original, could determine where there are chasms in it, or how they ought to be filled up. The reader may find hundreds of such verses in the poem, and many in which a more extensive view of the context may perhaps be necessary in order to the removal of the ellipsis. Now that the two characteristics under consideration should appear more strongly in the book of Job than in the Pentateuch (or in the rest of the Hebrew text which has been written after the style of the Pentateuch), is just what might be expected from the supposed circumstances of the case. For in this book we have to look for traces of an ideagraphic mode of expression, not only on account of the writer being habituated to that mode, but also from his having actually had before him an hieroglyphic original to transcribe; and it would be very unlikely indeed that some of the peculiarities of such original should not be transfused into the alphabetic exhibition of its meaning.

It may perhaps here occur to the reader, that among the peculiarities in question ought to be included a paucity and an unconnectedness of terms, corresponding to the nature of the signs employed in the more ancient hieroglyphic writing; and that the absence of this characteristic feature from the book of

Job, in its present shape, is a proof that the original form of it has not been rightly assigned. But a brief consideration of parallel cases will at once remove this objection. Thus, for instance, nothing can be more abstract in form, or disunited in ingredients, than the ancient hieroglyphic sentence quoted in the second chapter of this essay from the *Stromata* of Clemens; which consisted of the images of *a boy, an old man, a hawk, a fish, and a crocodile*: and yet the Alexandrian presbyter's reading of this sentence is perfectly coherent and well connected—"O you who are born, and you who die, God hates impudence." Thus again let us turn our attention to Daniel's reading of the miraculous handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar's palace—"God hath *numbered* thy kingdom, and finished it. Thou art *weighed* in the balances, and art found wanting. Thy kingdom is *divided*, and given to the Medes and *Persians*." Here we shall not find any want of subsidiary elements necessary for modifying or connecting the expressions of the leading thoughts. All is clear, intelligible, and well defined; and had this awful denunciation been transmitted to us alone, we should never have suspected that the original of which it was the reading, consisted only of three signs or groups of signs, merely expressing in their immediate signification, the first of them, *number*; the second, *weight*; and the third, ambiguously either *divisions*, or *Persians*.

The readings which have been just quoted, were arrived at, one of them through ordinary, and the other through miraculous means. Whether the transcription which appears in the sacred volume of the inspired work of Job, was made through the first, or the second, or conjointly through both of these means, it is perhaps impossible now to decide. But it certainly is an interesting, and I hope not a presumptuous inquiry, to try how far the apparent interposition of Providence can be traced in rendering mere human agency adequate to form such transcription. When Job expressed his earnest desire that the prophecy, which he was just proceeding to announce, of a redeemer and a resurrection, should be recorded for ever, he does not appear to have

been aware that ideagraphic writing was unequal to the accomplishment of this object. The art probably was not at the time long enough in use to enable him to know by experience its deficiency in this respect; and the supernatural knowledge with which he was inspired, seems to have been limited to those subjects which he was commissioned to reveal. His wish however has been realized, his prophecy—the first probably that was ever committed to writing—is preserved in a memorial far more durable than the rock in which he desired to have it insculped—it has survived the decay of ages, and will last to the end of time. How far the following representation of events is likely to be true, and how far, if true, it tends to prove a providential interference to bring about, through human instrumentality, the transfer of Job's writing into an alphabetic record, I submit to the reader for his consideration.

In an age when feelings of cruelty were extended even to the innocent and helpless offspring of those who were the objects of national or personal dislike, an Egyptian woman met with an exposed infant, born of a race which she detested and despised. Yet, in spite of all her prejudices, she was irresistibly seized with the feelings of a mother for the infant, and reared it as her own child. Had the woman on whose heart this impression was made, belonged to the lowest grade of society, the object of saving the child's life would have been equally effected; and the more deficient his education was, the more conspicuously would have been displayed the power of God in employing such an agent as the deliverer of the afflicted Hebrews. In point of fact however, this woman was daughter of the King, and Moses was brought up as a member of the royal family—he was placed in the only situation in which, as appears from a passage already quoted from Clemens, he could, without becoming priest of an idolatrous religion, have acquired a knowledge of Egyptian hieroglyphs to the full extent of what was known of them in that age; and he certainly availed himself of this opportunity, for it is communicated to us from an unerring source of information, that he “was learned in all the wisdom of the

Egyptians." He was then banished to the land of Midian, perhaps not far from the scene of Job's afflictions, and most probably not long after that scene had occurred. Or, to express myself on this point in the words of Dr. Kennicott, "As Job lived at the same time with Eliphaz the Temanite, and probably with Amram, the father of Moses, the story of Job's fortunes was very recent, and must have been much talked of in the time of Moses." — *Remarks, &c.*, p. 152. Here he passed forty years in a situation in which he was most likely to become perfectly well acquainted with the history in question, not only by often hearing it related in conversation, but also by meeting the written account of it. For he was domesticated in the house of a priest, one of that class of persons to whom in early days the knowledge of writing was chiefly confined. And if the graphic characters employed in the record differed at all from those he had learned in Egypt, the difficulty thence arising would soon have been surmounted by him, with the aid of his father-in-law, and through that general expertness in deciphering which his Egyptian education was naturally calculated to produce.

While the general outline of this series of events is to a certainty warranted by Scripture, parts of the filling up of the sketch I admit to be only conjectural; yet not without separate grounds for their probable correctness, besides the conjoint one of their harmonizing with the better known subjects of the picture. Enough however of the entire piece is, I apprehend, sufficiently clear and well defined to render manifest a design—the design of qualifying an individual through natural means for a particular office; and where such means are made adequate, we do not find in the history of the government of this world that miraculous ones have ever been resorted to.

I have here one step further to go, upon which, however, I venture with much hesitation, and only because, if what I am proceeding to suggest should prove well founded, it may perhaps enable the learned who pursue the subject, to account for some of the peculiar difficulties with which the book of Job is

obscured. Suppose then, that while the divine spirit protected Moses from any material error in the transcription of this book, it yet left him to his natural resources in the execution of the work. The inevitable consequence would be, that the transcriber himself might find a difficulty in fixing the meaning of some of the passages of the hieroglyphic record. For though from the nature of this kind of writing he would be at liberty to modify and connect, according to his discretion, the ideas immediately suggested by the characters, yet the fidelity of transcription would not allow him totally to alter or omit one of those ideas; and however careful he might be in connecting the leading thoughts (for he would make no ellipsis in such cases; the very difficulty with which he was beset would turn his attention to the point, and prevent his leaving any obscurity of that kind in his transcription), he yet might find it very hard to give his words a meaning that would intelligibly connect them with the surrounding passages. Certainly there are detached sentences in Job, which without appearing to include any ellipsis, and without containing any words of unusual occurrence, are yet peculiarly obscure.^a Whether such peculiarities can be in part accounted for by the cause here suggested, I submit to the learned for their investigation and judgement; but it is a subject on which I would not at present presume to hazard a decided or a confident opinion.

As I began the discussion of this question with an effort to show that there was no real inconsistency between the two leading opinions of the learned respecting the writer of the book of Job; so I shall conclude it with pointing out that not only are those opinions compatible with each other, but also that the first of them actually leads to the second. From the book having

^a The obscurity and the peculiarity of the book of Job are thus described by Bishop Lowth: "Prope sola inter eruditos de maxima ejus obscuritate consensio."—"Inter omnia Sacri Codicis monumenta extare quodammodo mihi videtur liber Jobi, quasi singulare quoddam atque unicum; utpote minimam omnium cum cæteris habens cognationem."—*De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* Præl. xxxii.

been written by Job himself, it has already been directly deduced, that it was originally composed in hieroglyphs; and from this fact again (provided the principle be admitted that miracles are not wrought for the accomplishment of objects which can be effected through natural means) it directly follows, that Moses must have been the person who transcribed it into alphabetic writing. For not only was he peculiarly fitted for the office, by being an expert hieroglyphic reader and familiar with the subject of the record; but besides no other person can possibly be assigned who was at all qualified for the undertaking. The Jews of his own time had neither leisure for learning hieroglyphs—they were constantly engaged in the servile occupation of making bricks—nor had they in Egypt the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Job's history. The Jews of subsequent ages had no inducement to learn hieroglyphs—they had been taught a far superior method of writing—and even if they had learned such as were employed by surrounding nations in their own time, this would not have enabled them to read an ideagraphic record of old standing.

Out of the main subject of this chapter questions naturally arise, as to the shape of the first letters; as to the mode in which Moses taught his countrymen their use; and as to the nature of their powers. Of these the former two inquiries relate merely to points of curiosity, but the third in its determination involves consequences of great interest and importance. I shall here briefly advert to them in the order in which they have been just mentioned.

1. The names of the letters employed in writing Hebrew, are words of that language denoting common familiar objects of sight. For instance א, the letter of B power, is named *Beth*, which in Hebrew expresses a house; ב, the letter of G power, is named *Gimel*, the Hebrew for a camel; ג, the letter of D power, is named *Daleth*, the Hebrew for a door; and so on. Hence, by the way, it has been argued that letters must have been first in use among a people who spoke Hebrew; and the deduction, as far as it extends, is in accordance with what I have advanced upon that subject. However the inference drawn

from the same fact in respect to the question now under consideration is, that as from certain objects the names of the letters were derived, so in like manner were their shapes; and some fanciful resemblances of them, in their present state, to those objects are adduced in illustration and support of the inference. But if we look to the letters on the coins dug out of the ruins of Jerusalem we shall find them very different in form from those now seen in the text of the Hebrew Bible (approaching much nearer to what are called Samaritan letters); and the older the coins appear to be, the farther the letters on them recede from those at present in use: so that if they changed at the same rate in still earlier times—as they most probably did—there cannot be now remaining the slightest vestige of their original shapes. What those shapes were it is very immaterial for us to know; but if it were worth while to hazard an opinion upon their general nature, I should say that they were quite arbitrary, having no resemblance to any known objects. For whatever writing of their own invention men employed in that early age of the world, must have consisted of characters drawn in the likeness of visible things; and it appears to have been the plan of Providence at the time to estrange the Jews from the surrounding nations in all their usages. Besides, as the miraculous writing on the tables contained a very strong prohibition against the employment of images, it is not likely that the characters chosen to express this prohibition should themselves come under the general description of the very thing that was forbidden.

2. From the names of the Hebrew letters (which were evidently given them for the purpose of teaching men their powers, and probably given them by the very first person on whom this tuitionary office devolved), it appears that Moses resorted to a mode of instruction substantially the same as that by which children are now taught their letters, and by which the Egyptians formerly learned the powers of their phonetic images. A brief comparison of the three modes will show that they all belong to the same class, and that the variations by which they are separated have arisen only out of the particular circumstances of the

different cases. A child is now led to perceive the powers of letters by having placed frequently before him, in connexion with each of them, the picture of some object with which he is quite familiar, both as to its appearance and its name; which name begins with a sound depending on the power that is to be impressed upon his mind. Thus, for instance, in his primer may be placed opposite the character B the delineation of a bird; opposite C, that of a cat; opposite D, that of a dog; and so on. When by some practice the two kinds of characters are sufficiently connected in his mind, the process by which he arrives at the powers of the first kind, through the intervention of the second, may be thus analyzed. The letter D, for instance, suggests to him the recollection of the little picture which he had been in the habit of seeing constantly along with it; this again suggests to him the idea of the animal of which it is the resemblance; this again, the word *dog*; and this again, by the initial articulation used in pronouncing it, the syllable *Dee*. Now the way by which the ancient Egyptian arrived at the phonetic powers of his hieroglyphs was precisely the same as this, with the exception of his omitting the first step of the process. Thus, for example, he set out from the hieroglyphic picture of a lion; from which he mentally proceeded to his idea of that animal; thence to the word *laboi*, or one commencing with the same articulation; and thence again to some simple syllable beginning or ending with L. As to the Hebrews who were instructed by Moses, they must have gone through exactly the same steps as the Egyptian, if their original letters were images—if, for instance, the second of them had the shape of a house; the third, of a camel; the fourth, of a door; and so on. But if—as is a great deal more likely—their first letters were arbitrary figures, then the process by which they learned their powers was much shorter, but still was part of the modern one above described. For from the letters they proceeded to the names they were taught by Moses; and from these, through their initial sounds, they arrived at simple syllables beginning with the same powers; the abbreviated process being closely analogous to that by

which children of quicker apprehensions now learn their alphabet.

3. Hitherto I have considered the process, as far as it advances in the three methods to a common result—to syllabic powers. But the modern reader always proceeds one step farther, by which he arrives at consonantal powers, and so in like manner frequently did the Egyptian in his later phonetic practice. The question hence arises, did Moses also reach this point? did he and, after him, the other writers of the Hebrew text, use letters with consonantal, or only with syllabic powers? If analogy were here admissible as a criterion, the question would be at once decided by the cases which have been examined in this essay. But no argument, founded on such ground, can in the first instance be brought to bear upon the subject; because the knowledge of letters granted to Moses was miraculous, and therefore, if it had so seemed fit to Providence, might have been extended by a compound miracle^a so as to in-

^a All the miracles by which our blessed Lord gave sight to the blind, or restored this sense to persons who had lost it at a very early age, were of a compound nature. For he thereby conferred instantaneously, not only the power of vision, which may be now got through the operation of couching, but also—what cannot be immediately effected by any human power—that use of sight which is naturally acquired only through the slow process of experience. The reason in such cases for the double miracle is very obvious, because if simply sight was given or restored to the afflicted person, he would at first grope about as much as if he had continued blind, and the surrounding multitude would not perceive that any miracle had been performed. In one instance the two operations are recorded separately, Mark, viii. 23, 24, 25; and it deserves to be remarked, that the Evangelist narrates the whole transaction in such a manner as to show that he was not aware of that part of the compound miracle which really exhibited the more extraordinary exertion of divine power. For what he dwells upon as having taken place after the second operation, is not that the man was at once enabled to perceive the distances, magnitudes, and figures of objects, and to know by their appearance alone, without touching them, what those objects were; but that he saw them *τηλαυγῶς*, that is, with a full perception of their splendour or brightness, just as if the effect of second operation had been merely to complete the first by giving a greater vividness to the sense of colours. Hence it appears that

clude an acquaintance with their more improved use. When once it is ascertained that an interference with the course of nature has taken place, we cannot, by either analogical or *a priori* reasoning, attempt to decide how far that interference has been extended; and it is only by an examination of the phenomena immediately thence resulting that the point can be settled. There are no Hebrew MSS. now extant which are sufficiently old to answer this purpose, but I am inclined to think I have found means to supply their place; and I have endeavoured to conduct the inquiry with a care and a caution proportioned to the value of the consequences involved in the decision of the question at issue; but the materials I have collected are not yet in a form sufficiently digested to lay before the public. They shall appear in the ensuing parts of this work, together with an illustration and support of my analysis by means of its synthetic application to different portions of the Hebrew text.

I shall conclude this part by pointing out to the reader the effect which alphabetic writing has had on the distinctness of subordinate words used for the purposes of modification, and by thence deriving a limit to the age of the Hebrew tongue. The influence to which I refer will readily appear upon a comparison of corresponding expressions in languages of different ages and stages of formation, at the time when the use of letters was brought to bear upon their construction. Let us, for instance, take the following example in Latin, Hebrew, and English:

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|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. visit-avimus-eos, | visit-avistis eos, | visit-averunt-eos. |
| 2. pekadnum, | pekadtum, | pekadum. |
| (pakad-nakhnu-hem) | (pakad-attem-hem) | (pakedu hem). |
| 3. visited-have-we-them, | visited-have-you-them, | visited-have-they-them. |

the inspiration of the sacred historian did not extend so far as to give him a scientific knowledge of this subject. He knew to a certainty all that it was important in a moral point of view to record for the information of mankind, namely, that a miracle had been actually performed, and with what external circumstances the performance was accompanied; but he was not in consequence endowed with the skill of an oculist, or made acquainted with the science of optics.

Now in the Latin example we are totally unable to analyze the affirmatives—*avimus, avistis, averunt*. They may, for any thing we know to the contrary, consist each of them of a fragment of some auxiliary verb to denote the time, blended with the fragment of a pronoun to denote the person; but the amalgamation took place so long before the introduction of letters among the ancient Latins, that it is now quite impossible to decompose such combinations. In the Hebrew example the decompositions of the first and second affirmatives are given under them; the third affirmative we are unable to resolve. This language being also considerably older than letters, we cannot disengage some of the formatives of the verbs; but still, on account of the far earlier use of letters among the Hebrews than among the Latins, there are several of the combinations which can be separated into their constituent parts. In modern languages, on the other hand, a great many of the forms expressing the tense and person of the verb were framed after the use of letters had been well established; and all such forms can be completely explained. Thus alphabetic writing, possessed of powers somewhat analogous to those of a chemical solvent, seems to discharge, in reference to words, the functions of a forcible instrument of analysis, which, with an efficacy inversely proportioned to the age and state of consistence of each language when first submitted to its operation, more or less decomposes the subject to which it is applied, and displays its elementary parts.

From this view of the subject it directly follows, that Hebrew can not be entirely the same language as that which was first spoken by man. For the amalgamations in this tongue, though more comprehensive than in Latin, as including affixes, are yet far less complete in reference to their common ingredients. But if Hebrew had been the language of the antediluvian world, the subsidiary parts of the words serving the purposes of their inflexion would have been completely blended, and have lost all vestige of their original forms, long before the time of Moses; and we should now be no more able to analyze the He-

brew formatives than we can those which are employed in Greek and Latin modifications.

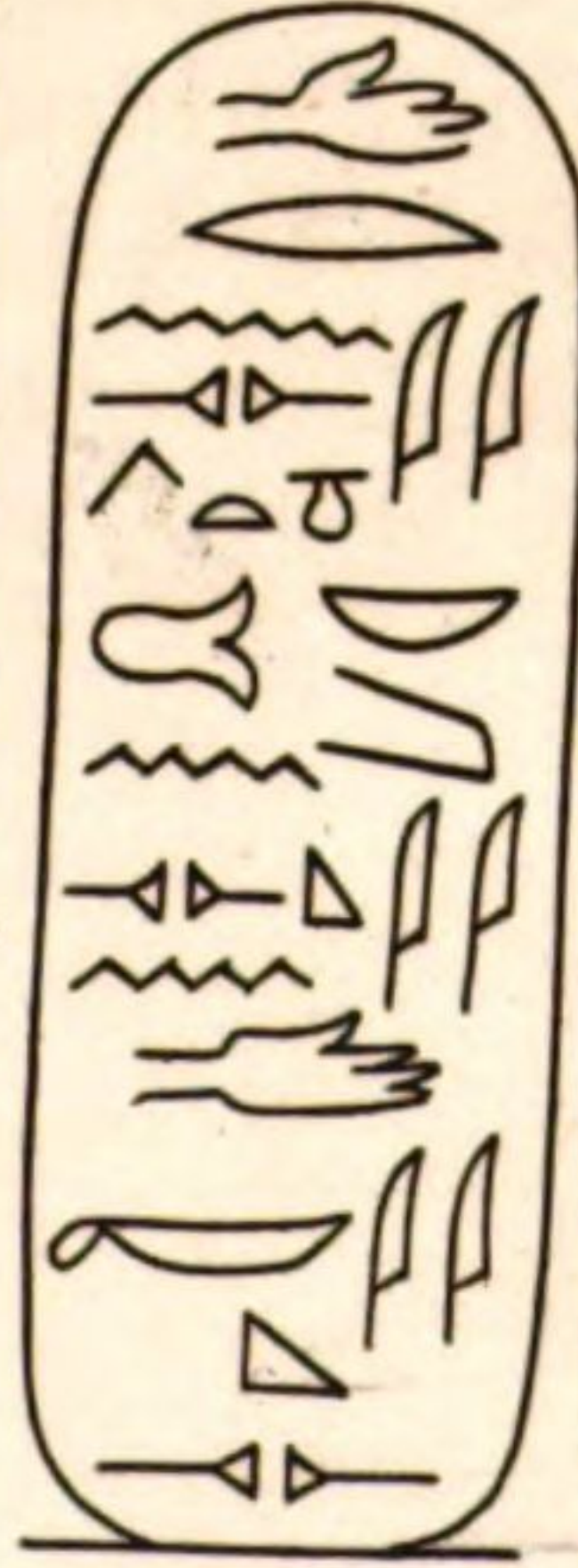
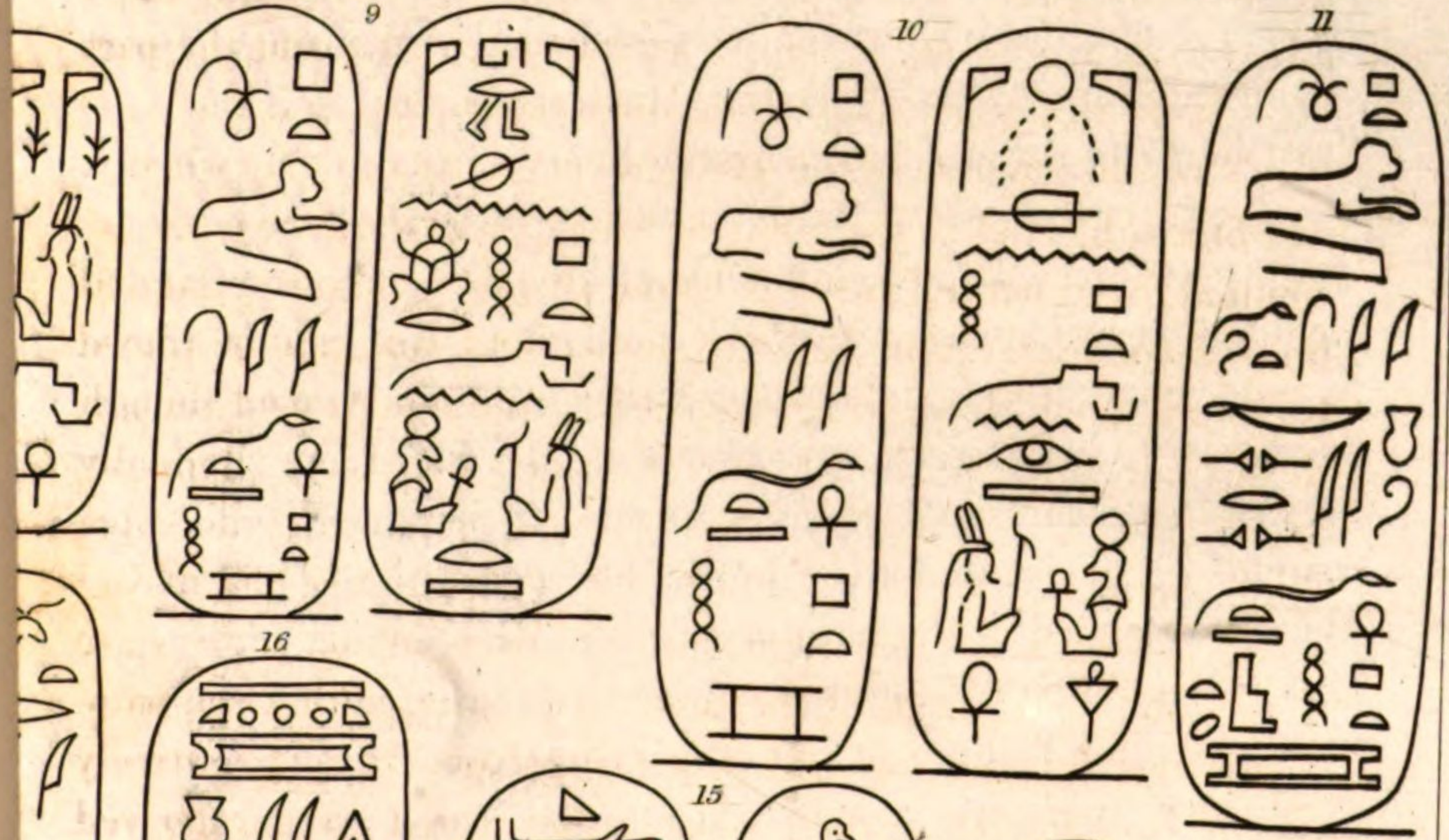
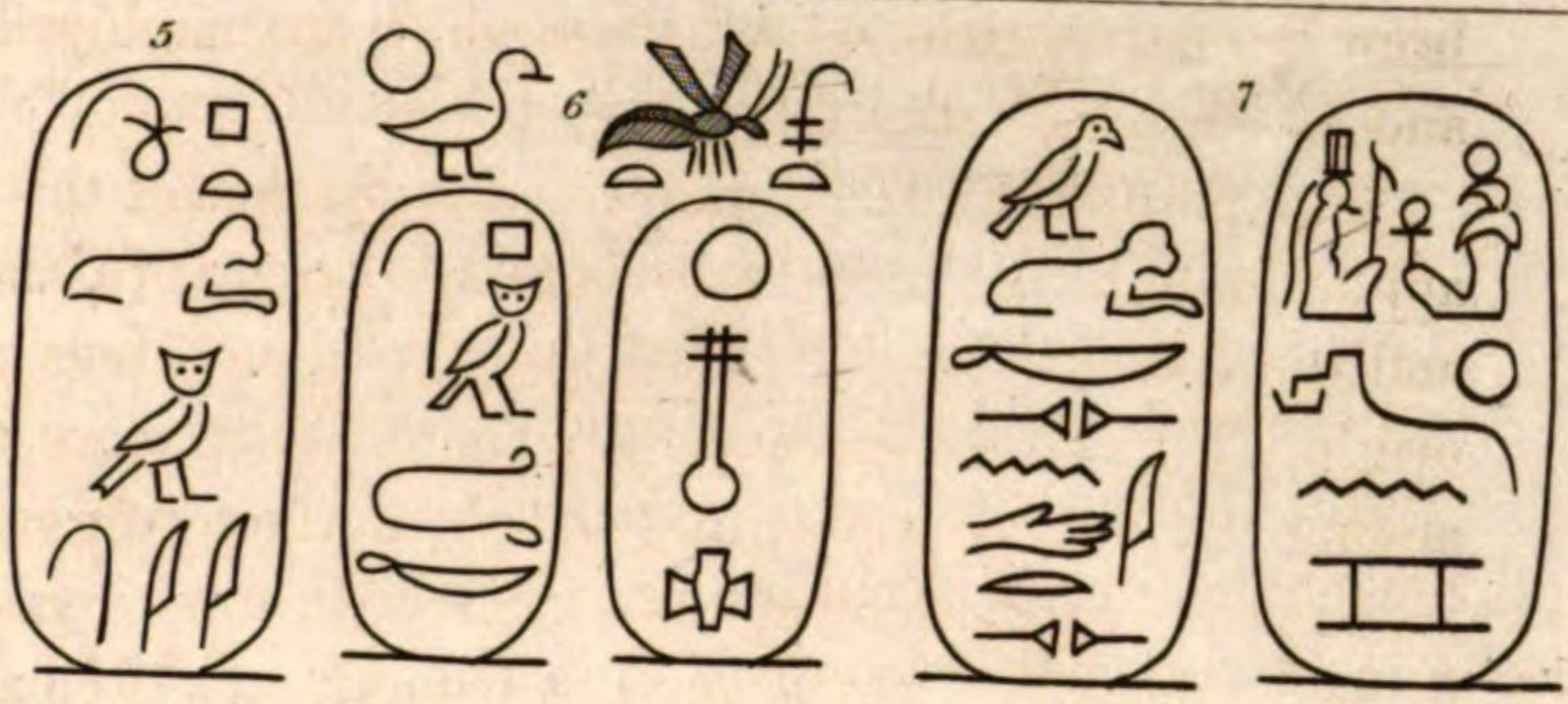
The postdiluvian limit here fixed to the age of this language applies only to the inflexions of the words, not to their roots; and there are reasons for assigning to those roots an earlier origin. For instance, from proper names which were significant among the first men continuing to be so in the writings of Moses, it appears that there must exist in Hebrew some remains of the primeval tongue. However it is evident that the inflexions of a language are by far its most characteristic part, and the part least likely to suffer change from ordinary causes.

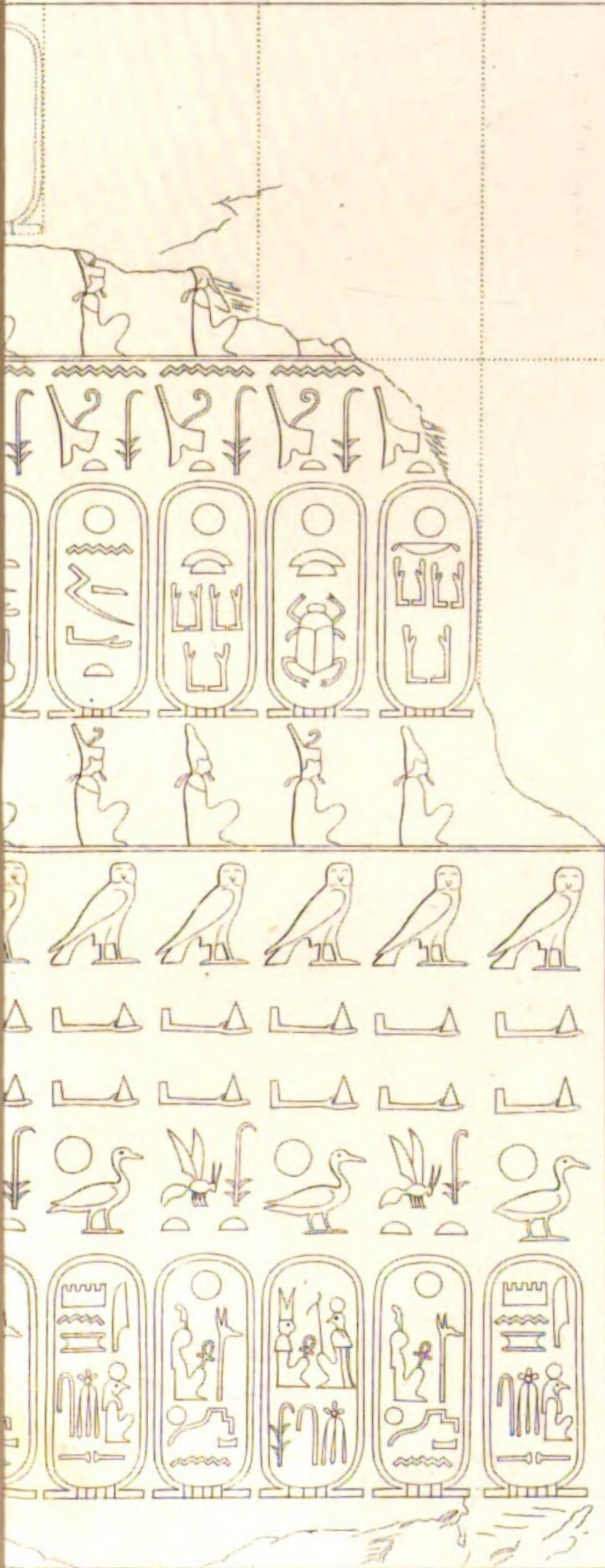
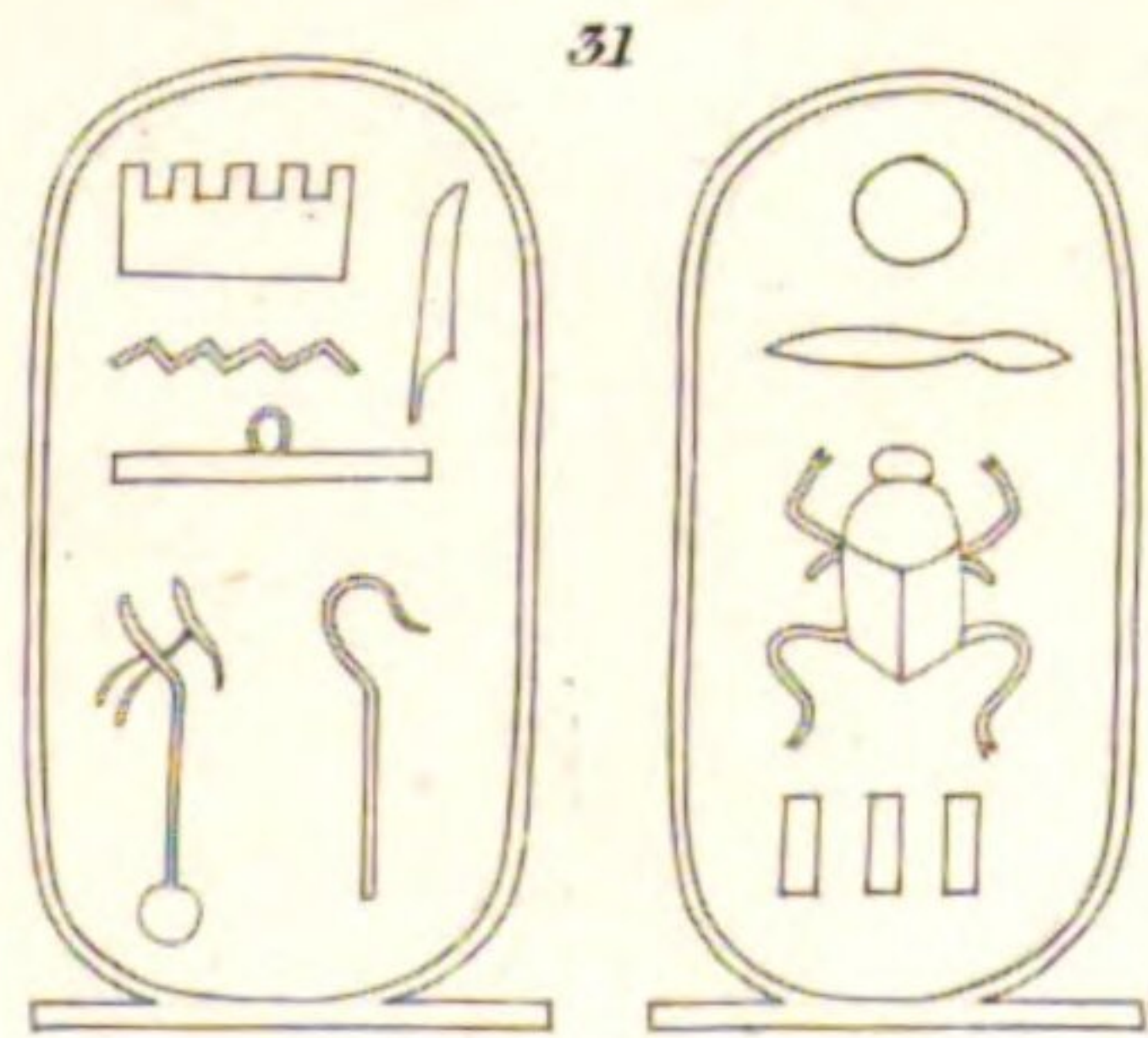
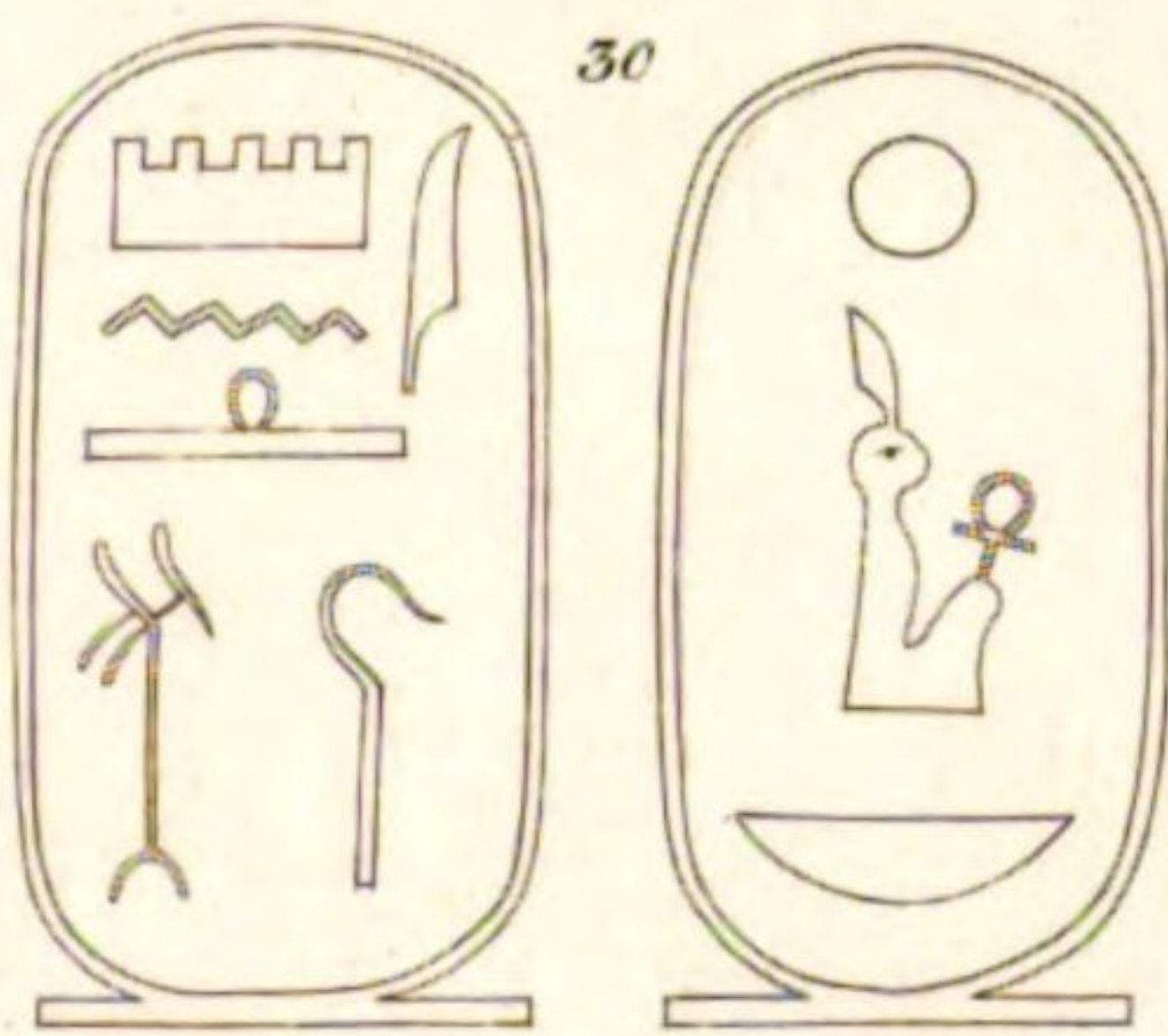
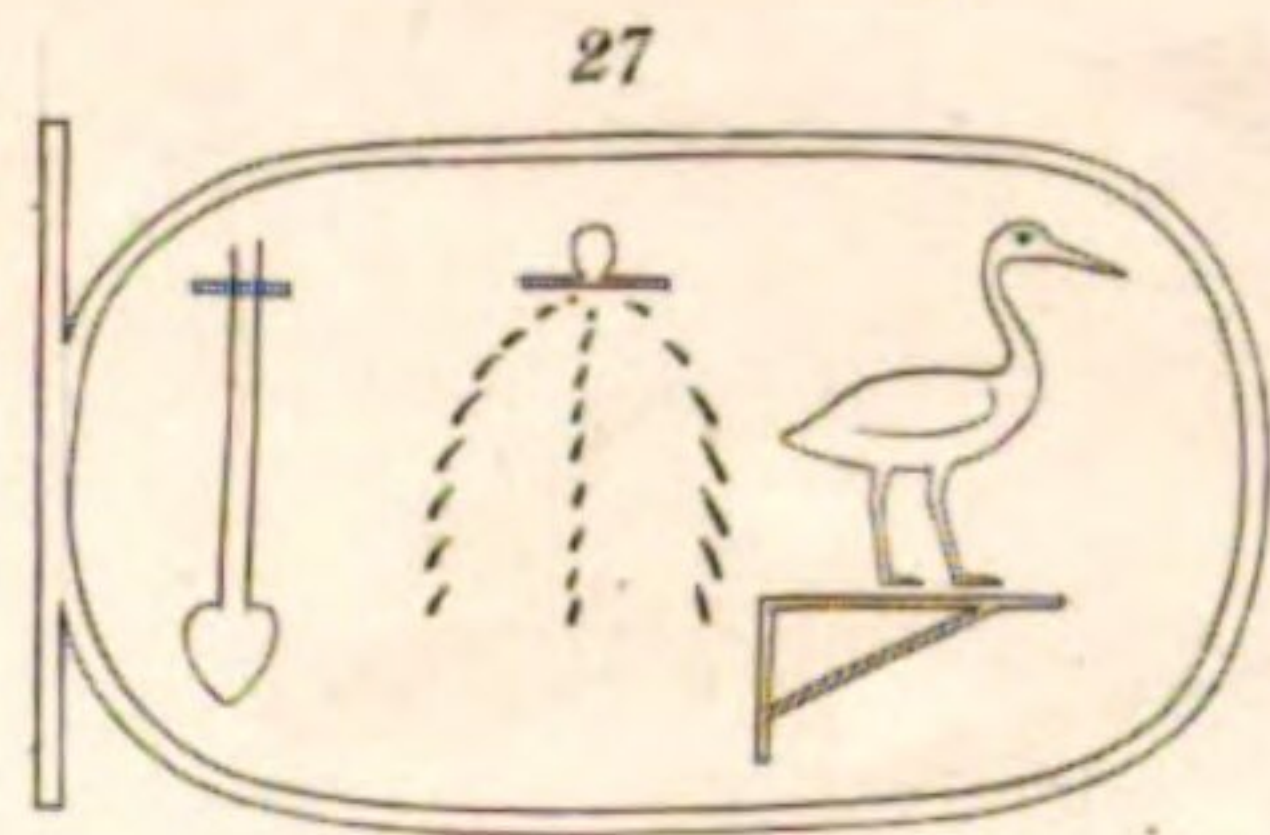
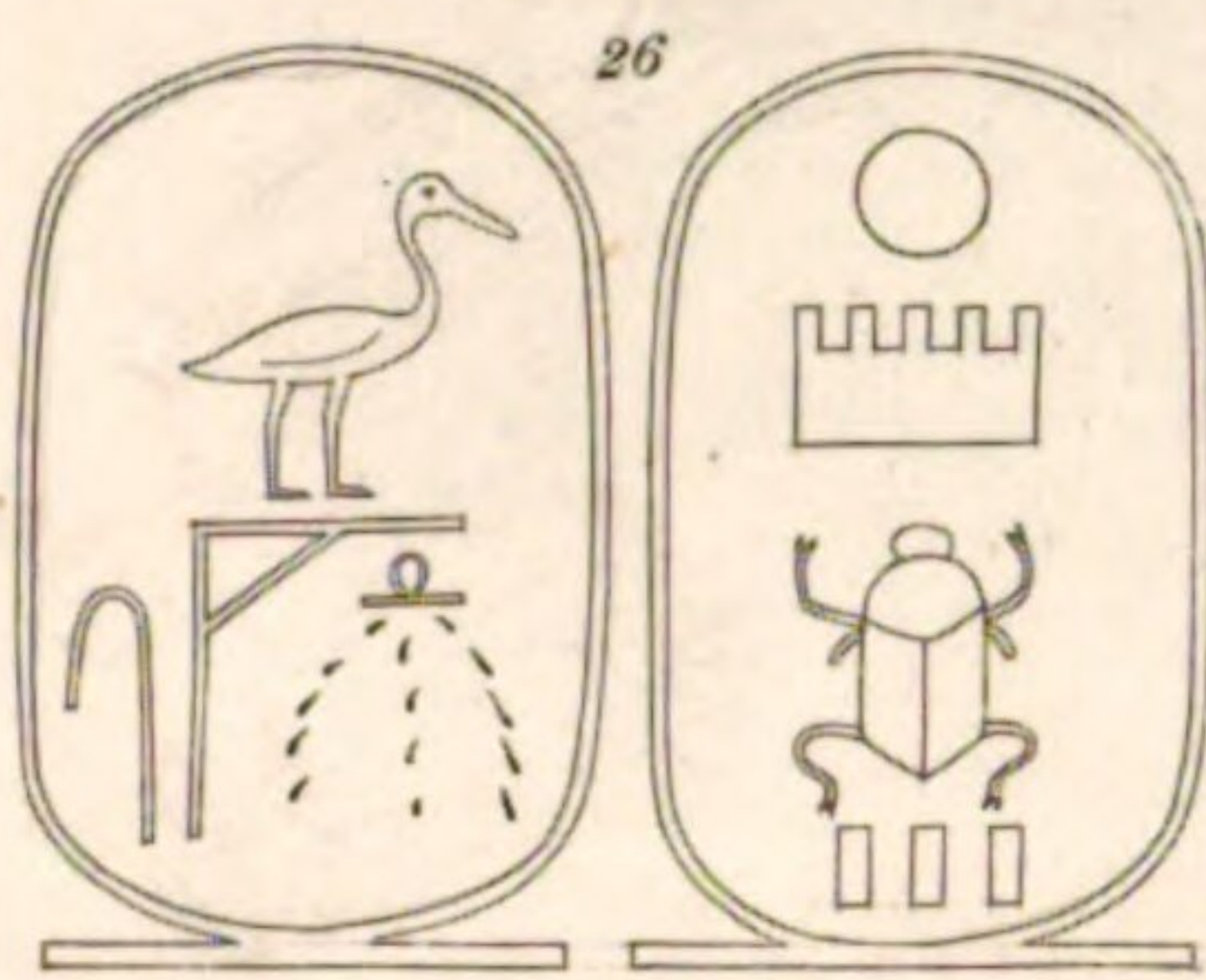
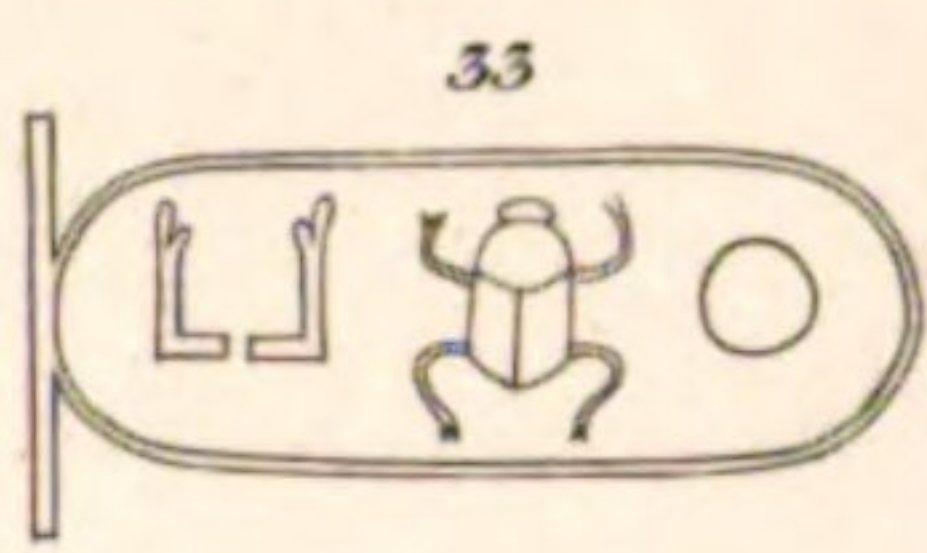
Now can the state of the Hebrew tongue at the time when it was first subjected to the influence of alphabetic agency, be accounted for by natural means? Certainly not. An uninterrupted line of communication between father and son can be traced backward from Moses to ages preceding the Flood; and though in this line some small changes of speech may have gradually arisen, yet it is absolutely impossible that there could have therein occurred in the natural course of events any violent and sudden alteration of language, such as was necessary in order to the exhibiting Hebrew at the time in question with a comparatively new frame-work, and with formatives of a comparatively recent construction. Here then is presented to us, derived from internal evidence, a very decisive proof of some miraculous interference with language having actually taken place, fully compatible, in point of date, with that which is recorded in the Bible.

END OF PART I.

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